The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
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Demonic Germany and the Predicament of Humanity
An Editorial

Do Catholics Want Religious Liberty?
An Editorial

The Fly in the Protestant Ointment
By Edgar DeWitt Jones

Anti-Semitism Must Be Uprooted!
By Everett R. Clinchy

God and National Policy
By Ernest Fremont Tittle

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for 1939

in

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

SPECIAL!

Arrangements have been completed for the appearance in The Christian Century next year of an article which will undoubtedly be discussed and discussed again wherever religious thinkers gather. So important will this article prove as a journalistic event that we reserve a complete announcement concerning it for our next issue.

Look for Next Week's Announcement

KARL BARTH . . . *on Church & State*

ONE great, unsolved problem overshadows all the churches today. This is the problem of relations between church and state. One Christian thinker and leader, internationally famed, has been driven into head-on conflict with a state over this problem. This is Karl Barth, Europe's most provocative, most exciting theologian. Barth has been forced to leave Germany, to go back to teaching in Switzerland, by his refusal to take orders from the Nazi Reich. The Christian Century is proud to be able to announce that during 1939 it will present (in English translation) Karl Barth's new study of the relations between church and state. It will be one of those rare documents to which the term "landmark" can be honestly applied.

The Eccentric Cults *Rivals of Enlightened Christianity*

GENUINE religious hunger, stirred by the heart-shaking events which are trying all mankind, is driving thousands of Americans to a new spiritual search. But many churches continue half-filled, many ministers preach to helf-empty pews, while the halls and tabernacles of extravagant cults can hardly hold the crowds.

Why? What draws the crowds to these new cults? What kind of men and women are attracted? What do the cults offer them? What do the converts claim they obtain? What about the relations of these cults to the churches? What about their prospects? In answer to these questions Paul Hutchinson, the managing editor of The Christian Century, will present during 1939 studies of at least seven of these modern cults:

The Holy Rollers, stronger today than ever, and growing rapidly.

The Mighty I Am and Its Ascended Masters—latest esoteric cult to attract a huge following.

Father Divine and His Imitators—Negro cults flourish in every center of colored population.

Jehovah's Witnesses — persecuted, imprisoned, stigmatized as unpatriotic, what is this strange sect?

Foursquare Evangelists—their tabernacles spring up everywhere in towns torn by industrial strife. Why?

The Hotel Ballroom Psychologists—read their advertisements in the daily press; see their following. What is its meaning?

The Oxford Group—when evangelism turns from the "down and outs" to the "up and ins" what happens to it?

Then, in addition to the articles in this series, there will be a special study of

Catholic Novenas—spreading across the nation like wildfire, attracting enormous crowds, the most popular movement in American Catholicism today. Again the question to be answered will be, Why?

In This Issue

ERNEST FREMONT TITTLE

is the minister of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Evanston, Ill., the seat of Northwestern University, of which school he has been a trustee for many years. Among his books are *A World That Cannot Be Shaken, A Way to Life, Jesus After Nineteen Centuries, The Religion of the Spirit* and *What Must the Church Do to Be Saved?*

EDGAR DEWITT JONES

is the president of the Federal Council of Churches and has ministered at the Central Woodward Christian Church, Detroit, for the past twelve years. He went to Detroit from Bloomington, Ill., where he had a notable ministry from 1906 to 1920. For several years Dr. Jones was on the editorial staff of the *Detroit News*, and has been a staff correspondent for The Christian Century since 1927. He has published several books of sermons, his latest being *This Great Business of Being Christian.* A recent volume, entitled *Lords of Speech,* is proving widely popular.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY

is the director of the National Conference of Jews and Christians.

W. P. LEMON

is minister of First Presbyterian Church, Ann Arbor, Mich., and a frequent contributor to this paper.

Coming

In next week's issue will appear an article discussing the role of the churches, especially the Orthodox and Roman Catholic, in the troubled scenes of eastern Europe, where the author, R. H. Markham, has been a resident and a news correspondent for many years.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

November 30, 1938

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Calendar of Coming Events

Nov. 29, 30. General Council, Northern Baptist Convention, Prince George Hotel, New York City.
Nov. 29, 30. National Interracial Conference, Protestant Episcopal Church, Evanston and Chicago, Ill.
Nov. 29-Dec. 3. Joint Meeting, Bishops of the two Methodist Episcopal churches and President of Methodist Protestant Church, Nashville, Tenn.
Nov. 30. Interseminary Institute of Human Relations, Temple Sholom, Chicago.
Dec. 1. South Georgia Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Waycross.
Dec. 2, 3. Annual Meeting and Dinner, Christian Rural Fellowship, New York City.
Dec. 4. Chicago Sunday Forum, Thorne Hall, Chicago; Walter Judd, speaker.
Dec. 4. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Herbert Agar, speaker.
Dec. 5-8. University Christian Mission, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
Dec. 6. Society of Friends Conference, Friends' Meeting House, Evanston; Rufus M. Jones and Clarence E. Pickett, speakers.
Dec. 6-9. Federal Council of Churches, Buffalo, N. Y.
Dec. 7. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Paul van Zeeland, speaker.
Dec. 9, 10. Federal Council of Churches, Intercouncil Field Committee, Buffalo, N. Y.
Dec. 11. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Margaret Bondfield, speaker.
Dec. 11. Chicago Sunday Forum, Thorne Hall; Clifton Utley, speaker.
Dec. 11. Universal Bible Sunday.
Dec. 11-18. International Golden Rule Week.
Dec. 13-30. International Missionary Council, Madras, India.
Dec. 14, 15. Interfaith Conference on Democracy and Economic Planning, Hotel Towers, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dec. 15-18. Biennial Convention, Anti-Saloon League of America, Columbus, O.
Dec. 18. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Charles C. Betchelder-Norman Thomas Debate.
Dec. 26-30. Stewardship Review Days.
Jan. 1. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Louis Fischer, speaker.
Jan. 8. Chicago Sunday Forum, Thorne Hall; Max Lerner, speaker.
Jan. 6-8. Fifth National Congress, American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 7-10. Home Missions Councils, Baltimore, Md.
Jan. 8. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Prince and Princess Hubertus Zu Loewenstein, speakers.
Jan. 11. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Stefan Zweig, speaker.
Jan. 15. Chicago Sunday Forum, Thorne Hall; Maurice Hindus, speaker.
Jan. 15. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; David Seabury, speaker.
Jan. 22. Chicago Sunday Forum, Thorne Hall; Julius Bryan, speaker.
Jan. 24. Joint Commission on Unification, Methodist Episcopal Church and Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Jackson, Miss.
Jan. 28, 29. Unitarian Southwest Regional Conference, Dallas, Tex.
Jan. 31-Feb. 10. Carew Lectures, Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Conn., Prof. Herbert G. May, speaker.
Feb. 6-14. International Council of Religious Education, Chicago.
Feb. 21-23. Earl Lectures, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
Apr. 26. Uniting Methodist Conference.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LV CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 30, 1938 NUMBER 48

EDITORIAL

HEADED by Dr. Edgar DeWitt Jones, president of the Federal Council of Churches, a delegation representing about twenty of the leading denominations accompanied President Albert W. Palmer to the White House on November 17 and laid before President Roosevelt the proposal for the calling of a world economic conference. It will be remembered that this suggestion, together with the argument for it, was expressed in an article by Dr. Palmer in The Christian Century of November 9. This article and the proposal that it embodied have elicited a wide and favorable response. If entered into in the spirit of scientific inquiry and free discussion, not in the spirit of horse trading or seeking advantage by threats of violence, such a conference of the world's important nations would be the most direct approach to the problem of the economic causes of war. It would not be a mere gesture of appeasement for angry dictators. "This will call for lowered tariff walls on our part," said Dr. Palmer, "it may call for open doors and even colonial readjustments on the part of France and Britain, but it will be infinitely better than the war we are headed for. What we need is to dig out the economic root of the tree of injustice at the end of whose branches dictators grow." It would be premature to venture any report on the President's reaction to this momentous proposal, but it can be said that he gave it a courteous hearing and discussed it with the delegation for nearly an hour.

Dr. Palmer's Proposal Reaches the President

C.I.O. Is Put on a Permanent Basis

A NEW and permanent C.I.O. emerged from the council which transformed a mere Committee on Industrial Organization into a Congress of Industrial Organizations, with a constitution and a full quota of officers—John L. Lewis, of course, as president. The immediate significance of this is that it postpones indefinitely the achievement of a united labor organization. Perhaps there was not much chance of it before. Now there is none within any predictable future. Neither labor nor the friends of labor need waste any more energy in attempting to bring the C.I.O. back into the A.F. of L. The question now is how these two organizations can learn to function without undue friction for the advancement of the interests of their respective constituencies, of labor as a whole, and of the entire industrial order within which they must live and move and have their being. Without falling back upon any of those moldy platitudes about the common interest of capital and labor, one may still be permitted to say that both elements of our economic machine have suffered from a too restricted concern for their own immediate advantage, and that a wider view would benefit both. Perhaps a permanent division of organized labor may not be the best way of achieving that. But it may be one way. A frank recognition of the realities of the situation is always wholesome and often helpful. If there is a stratification of labor into classes—the more aristocratic craft unions of the A.F. of L. and the more proletarian industrial unions of the C.I.O.—perhaps it is just as well to let that fact be registered in the form of organization. Then the situation can be seen for what it is and can be dealt with accordingly.

Trade Treaties with Britain and Canada

TARIFF WALLS between the United States and Great Britain and its dominions were not demolished, but at least the iron spikes and broken glass were removed from the top, by the trade agreements which were ceremoniously signed in the stately east room of the White House on November 17. These were undoubtedly the most important of the reciprocal trade agreements, now numbering twenty, which Secretary Hull has negotiated. By these newest treaties tariffs are reduced on a long list of articles imported from or exported to Great Britain, the British dominions and Canada. The volume of trade affected amounts annually to nearly $300,000,000 of imports into the United States and more than $400,000,000 of exports. Securing the acceptance of these treaties, to which the British government had appeared to be some-

what indifferent during their negotiation, may be considered the most significant landmark in the development of Mr. Hull's tariff policy. The question of protection vs. free trade is still a controversial political question. But Mr. Hull has discovered a technique which has not only won the approval of the free traders but has minimized—of course without entirely obliterating—the opposition of the protectionists. Certain particular interests still clamor for protection. Those who insist that "the American standard of living" must forever be kept at a higher level than that of any other nation are suspicious of any lowering of the protective wall, though even they cannot but be concerned about foreign markets. The discovery that we cannot sell abroad unless we also buy, and that high tariffs prevent both, is at the bottom of the policy of reciprocal reductions.

The Lima Conference and the Defense of the Americas

AMERICAN delegates are leaving for the Pan-American conference at Lima just in time to find out the true feeling of our South American neighbors toward President Roosevelt's latest proposals for defense of this hemisphere. Recent statements by the President indicate that what he has in mind is an American fleet and airforce capable of repulsing any attack, either from Europe or Asia or from both simultaneously, delivered against any nation on the two American continents. At a press conference on November 15—the same conference at which he delivered his excoriation of nazi outrages against the Jews in Germany—Mr. Roosevelt stated that the United States must assume responsibility for the protection of the entire stretch of territory between Canada and Tierra del Fuego. It was admitted by the President that this hemispherical defense must be a cooperative enterprise with the Latin American republics, but the plain implication was that the republics to the south would be exceedingly minor partners in the total enterprise. Most of the comment from Latin America which has greeted Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion has sounded approving. The one conspicuous exception has been in the reports from Argentina. At Lima, however, the American delegation should be able to discover how far sold the Latin republics are on accepting the United States as the guarantor of their security. What is needed there is candid discussion of the whole proposal, and candid reporting to the American public of the course that discussion follows. In his recent book, *The Coming Struggle for Latin America,* Carleton Beals indicates that previous Pan-American conferences have left much to be desired on both points.

France Finds Lotteries Not Worth Having

FRIENDS of American Lotteries—if there is such an organization—and all others who are continually arguing for the legalization of this popular form of mass gambling may profitably consider the recent decision of the French government to suppress the state lottery. It has been running for five years, which ought to be long enough for a fair trial. The decision, in brief, is this: "In proportion to the important sums that it draws from the general public, its contribution to the national revenue is small, and independently of this it raises grave moral dangers." The financial summary shows that during these five years the public has spent about ten billion francs for lottery tickets; the gross profit was approximately four billion francs; but overhead and operating expenses took 96½ per cent of that, leaving to the public treasury only about 140 million francs—or something like four million dollars. That is a good deal like shearing a pig—much cry and little wool. The moral aspect of the matter is thus analyzed in the official statement: "Economic recovery presupposes as a first condition that the taste for work and economy should resume its real place and that improvement in personal situations should not be a matter of hazard alone." That is putting it accurately, though very mildly. The story of the barber who won five million francs, gave his shop to his employees and bought a chateau, makes a colorful tale but is no help in building an honest and industrious citizenry. Furthermore, it was found that the lottery stimulated the growth of all sorts of superstitions and furnished a field of operations for charlatans who, by reading the stars or otherwise, professed to be able to select lucky numbers for their clients. One such faker took in several million francs from his customers before the police caught up with him. These things always go together. Gamblers are always superstitious. Why should a government run schools to develop intelligence and lotteries to corrupt it?

Japan Approves Nazi Racial Principle

JAPAN does not propose to maintain the open door in China. This announcement hardly comes under the head of news, but it is just as well to get the matter settled officially. "In the face of the new situation," said the Japanese reply to America's open door note which was received in Washington on November 18, "any attempt to apply to the conditions of today and tomorrow the inapplicable ideas and principles of the past neither would contribute to the peace of East Asia nor solve the immediate issues." That is being about as blunt as nations ever are in their diplomatic exchanges. It means that Japan intends to develop China as a closed preserve, and if the United States doesn't like it, that's just too bad. What do we intend to do about it? Mr. Hull will probably go on writing notes for the record, but beyond that there is very little we can do about it, *unless* the President should suddenly discover that there is a war going on in the Far East and invoke the neutrality law. Meanwhile, a diplomatic exchange of far more interest has been announced between Tokyo and Berlin. Japan, under the provisions of a "cultural pact" made public on November 14, "shall recognize the racial principle peculiar to Germany, while Germany shall appreciate the spirit of Nippon and both shall cooperate culturally." What in the world can this mean? The "racial principle peculiar to Germany" insists on the inherent and eternal superiority of the Aryan (Nordic) race. If Japan has had any "divine mission" in recent years it has been to shatter the myth of white supremacy and to insist on the equality of the yellow race.

Many patriotic Japanese have pushed their opposition to white claims even to the point of asserting the racial superiority of the yellow peoples. Now, apparently, the military dictatorship in Tokyo is accepting nazi racial dogmas. On the face of the record it would seem that the Tokyo militarists are so hard-pressed for military assistance that, in order to keep the pressure of the German army heavy on Russia's western flank, they have swallowed Hitler's claim to the ethnic superiority of the blondest whites. But to do this Japan's generals and admirals must utterly debase their pride, which is supposed to be their most important stock in trade. The whole thing simply does not make sense.

Patent Laws to Be Restudied

SENATOR O'MAHONEY'S committee for the investigation of monopolies is going to begin a study of patent laws, their administration and its effect on the national economy, as soon as Congress convenes. This is a fruitful field of inquiry. The relation between patents and monopolies is, historically, very close. Indeed, patents in the modern sense grew out of the old English practice of granting royal monopolies for particular branches of industry or trade merely as gifts to favorites. This began at least as early as Edward III, was highly developed under Henry VIII, and came to excess under Elizabeth. Under James I, the effects of these monopolies were so burdensome that a "committee of grievances," headed by the famous Sir Edward Coke, was appointed to check up on abuses of grants in restraint of trade. From this grew the first patent law, in the modern sense, the grant to an inventor of exclusive rights to the exploitation of his invention for a term of years—"so they be not contrary to law, nor mischievous to the state by raising of the prices of commodities at home or hurt of trade or generally inconvenient." Probably no one suspected in 1621, and the learned Sir Edward Coke as little as any, how vast would be the proliferation of inventions in the next three centuries or how inevitably the possession of patent rights would affect "the prices of commodities." Neither could it have been imagined how necessary such protection would be for the development of mechanized industry. But the complexities have become almost infinite, and it is not beyond reasonable conjecture that some of the consequences have become "mischievous to the state" and "generally inconvenient." That is what Senator O'Mahoney's committee is going to try to find out.

Trying to Camouflage Relief Realities?

LITTLE by little the realities of the President's proposed armament expansion are coming out. The exact figures will not be known until Congress meets in January, but it is already clear that the cost will be enormous and that the policy involved will require a fundamental change in the control of American business. Mr. Roosevelt now talks of an airforce of from 7,000 to 10,000 planes always ready for fighting service. We now have less than 2,000; the difference will not be made up for less than a good many hundred millions. This is taking into account not merely the cost of the machines, but also of the training and maintenance of the men to serve them. More important, however, is the announcement that the government expects to pour armament orders into the heavy industries, to use the National Youth Administration to train the young men on its rolls for technical careers in armament factories, and to shift a large part of the present relief program to projects which can be labeled as defense measures and accordingly brought under the armament budget. A more dangerous policy it would be difficult to conceive. It will place our heavy key industries under practical domination by war and navy department bureaucrats administering the provisions of the industrial mobilization scheme. It will make the future of the young men now in the NYA dependent on the continued large-scale operations of munitions plants. It will try to fool the nation as to the actualities of the relief situation by hiding great numbers now receiving WPA assistance in jobs that would not exist apart from federal subsidy. And it will do the same thing that has been done in Germany, Italy and England, namely, make economic recovery depend on the expansion and continuation of a national armament program. For once factories have been set running full blast on armament orders, those orders must be continued if another collapse with its wholesale unemployment is not to follow. Bad as a policy for the present, such a program is suicidal for the future.

General Motors Guarantees Yearly Income

NOT SINCE Henry Ford announced his $5-a-day minimum wage has American industry given birth to as important an economic development as the plan for "wage security" which the General Motors Corporation will put into effect on January 1. The plan will have two divisions. In the first all workers for an hourly wage who have been with the company for five years or more can, in the event of a layoff, borrow 60 per cent of their normal wage. When they return to work the loan is to be repaid in weekly installments amounting to one-half of what they are then receiving in excess of the 60 per cent loaned. In other words, a worker normally making $50 a week can, if laid off, draw $30 a week until he goes back to work, at which time he begins to pay back the loan at half of what he receives in excess of $30 until his account with the company is squared. In the second division, workers who have worked for less than five years, but more than two, can borrow 40 per cent of their normal wage, up to 72 hours of regular pay, and repay in the same way. In case of death before loans are repaid, the unpaid portion of the loan is to be canceled. When the plan first goes into effect it will apply to 150,000 hourly wage workers, but the corporation hopes to extend its provisions to 37,000 salaried employees without long delay. It hardly needs to be pointed out how important such a departure is in an industry which has been plagued with frequent and extended layoffs, as has the motor car industry. But its effect is likely to be felt in many lines outside the automotive trade. And the question is certain quickly to arise: If this industry has reached a place where

it can put through a plan like this, why can it not go just a bit farther and establish a yearly wage plan? Yearly wages in a half-dozen basic industries would probably do more to break the economic jam than any move so far made, either by the government or by industry itself.

Demonic Germany and the Predicament of Humanity

IT IS a horror stricken world that contemplates the reign of implacable cruelty which now grips the German people. That such a phenomenon as the anti-Semitic pogrom could appear in Western society seemed at first incredible—in a society that has been for centuries impregnated with the principles of the Christian faith. But doubts concerning the authenticity of the news have had to give way as report follows report. An inexorable purpose to annihilate the Jewish population of Germany is revealed by new acts of brutality and exploitation and by calculated pronouncements of nazi purpose.

The most terrible aspect of the whole matter is the wanton hardness of heart with which the makers of German policy go about their bloody business. There is no vacillation. The brutish purpose expressed in nazi speeches makes it plain that Germany is determined to provoke in the outside world such sympathy for its victims that other nations will be compelled by sheer humanity to undertake the solution of the Jewish problem on Germany's behalf.

To all the appeal and protest by other nations the German leaders reply, If you like the Jews so much, you can have them! The depth of this debasement of human sensibility was reached in the speech of Göbbels, who declared with an obscene sneer: "We do not want to export anti-Semitism; we want to export Semites. Supposing the whole world were anti-Semitic, how should we rid ourselves of our Jews? It is our wish that the world may become so pro-Jewish that it will take our Jews off our hands!"

Such fiendish and shameless relapse from the most elemental instincts which actuate civilized humanity, not to mention the spirit of Christianity, indicates that in the nazi regime the modern world confronts a phenomenon for dealing with which it has no experience or precedent. Mr. Hoover goes back for the nearest precedent to Torquemada whose bloodthirsty Inquisition drove a million Jews from Spain. But in the fifteenth century there was no such sense of world-wide obligation to humanity as that which has been slowly created by science and democracy and a reformed Christianity since the Dark Ages.

How can the enlightened and outraged conscience of mankind express itself in the teeth of such an outburst of infernal lust? If it were 1914 the impulsive answer would be, Let us march against Germany and make the world safe for humanity! Let us destroy the demonic despotism that has usurped control of the German people and set not only Jews but the German people themselves free! This impulse, if it were 1914, would be rationalized by making a distinction between the German government and the German people, and affirming that the people would welcome our invading armies as their deliverer from a hated tyranny. But it would now be generally agreed that any such proposal lacks realism. The very fact that fifteen years after the German people were "liberated" from the Hohenzollern "yoke," they voluntarily put themselves and their destiny in the hands of Hitler, well aware of his purposes, which had been openly avowed, has destroyed the last shred of optimistic idealism under which the World War was fought.

Moreover, the instinctive prompting to rush into war with Germany, even though the cause is ten times more substantial than that which challenged us in 1914-17, is inhibited both by fear of defeat and by fear of victory. No doubt the situation which France and Britain confronted only two months ago would have been met with war had the democracies approached it in the mood of 1914. But the enlightened and sane nations of the West now see that in a war with Germany they have everything to lose in defeat and nothing to gain in victory—nothing to gain in victory unless they are willing to pay a price for ultimate appeasement which none of them is willing to pay. Even the Jews would gain nothing in the victory of their champions, and defeat would only spread the poison of anti-Semitism.

Short of military measures, what then can be done? Proposals are being made on all sides. One is to set apart a territory in some part of the world to which the Jews can be transported and where they will be able to develop an autonomous society. The island of Madagascar and a territory in South Africa are frequently mentioned for this purpose. Mr. Chamberlain has told Parliament that his government would consent to the opening of Tanganyika, one of Germany's pre-war colonies, or British Guiana, on the northeast coast of South America, for "involuntary refugees" from Germany. Australia, which has a vast extent of thinly populated territory, would seem in theory to afford a logical sanctuary, but the Australians violently object. As for South Africa, the British and Dutch population is as anti-Semitic as Germany, and would oppose the importation of Jews to their own and probably to contiguous countries, even to the point of blocking it by force. Palestine is out of the question, in view of the failure of the British mandate to attain some *modus vivendi* as between Jews and Arabs.

Another proposal, and one which primarily concerns America, is to distribute Jewish refugees among those nations that will receive them, by a quota system to be agreed upon. In such an arrangement the United States would be expected to take the lion's share. The size of our country and its large population make plausible the contention that an additional 100,000 or so of Jewish immigrants could be absorbed without difficulty. Moreover, the United States has since its beginning provided asylum for the persecuted in other lands. It would seem to be in the line of its past policy as well as of its present duty for Congress to revise the immigration law so as to admit tens of thousands of Germany's victims. Propaganda to this end is in full tide, and there are indications that it may receive the support of the President.

It is easy for good people to give this proposal their support, because it does give them the sense of doing something, something virtuous and unselfish. People cannot

endure to hold their wrath against Germany and their sympathy for the Jews pent up in their breasts. An outlet is demanded—some practical and immediate measure by which the plight of the Jews may be relieved. Let the United States, therefore, set a good example to the rest of the world by welcoming the Jews. It is uncritically assumed that this proposal is a solution. But when carefully examined it discloses evils as great as those which it is designed to cure.

In the first place, the unrealism which characterizes the proposal for mass transportation to a new land, applies to this proposal also. But even if all the Jews could be induced to leave Germany, the nations of the world have no intention of opening their ports to receive so great an influx. The quotas suggested, even if the nations would accept them, would still leave the great mass of Jews in Germany. No problem would be solved.

Any plan to *do something* for the Jews is unrealistic if it does not take into account the all but universal existence of anti-Semitism. It is difficult for a Christian pen to write such a statement of fact, but in facing a proposal to save the Jews of Germany, this fact cannot be forgotten. The plan to distribute them among the more benign nations would at the utmost care for a bare fraction, and would not in any degree solve the problem which German hate and inhumanity have created.

There are those who would reply to this statement by saying, Then let the United State alone receive them; let us revise our immigration laws and return to our former policy of extending a welcome to the oppressed. In certain quarters this policy or its equivalent is now being advocated. Its advocacy is placed on high moral grounds. This, it is said, is what our great, free democracy *ought* to do. Ideally, such a policy makes a strong appeal to the American spirit. It would be a magnificent gesture in line with the basic theory of our government that "all men are created free and equal," and should be equally guaranteed the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But unhappily it is a condition, not an ideal theory, that confronts the high-minded sympathetic American. There are specific considerations which make it highly inadvisable to let down our immigration barriers. One is the economic condition of the country with its ten million unemployed, and the precarious tenure of millions of others on their means of earning a livelihood. To admit an appreciable number of Jews, all of them forced to a status of indigence before they are allowed to leave Germany, would add just that much more to the economic chaos.

Not only so, but it requires only a simple act of imagination to envisage the social effect of such a policy. No doubt those who advocate it do so on the complacent assumption that there is no Jewish problem in this country. We have solved that problem, they say, in the good "American way." But this is a wishful judgment, expressive of our ideals, but not of the realities. Dr. Clinchy directs attention in his article in this issue to the strong current of anti-Semitism here. And this current touches thousands who do not confess it, least of all in a questionnaire.

This wicked obsession which exists in America hardly less than in pre-Hitlerian Germany could be more easily whipped into overt fanaticism than those who attend the round table conferences of Jews, Catholics and Protestants seem to imagine. Such conferences, proceeding for the most part in the upper air of sentiment and idealism, are likely to give the public as well as the participants a false conception of the realities of our social life. The importation of an appreciable number of Jews at this time would become at once the occasion for which our "Silver Shirts" and anti-Semitic "bunds" are waiting. It would be a tragic disservice to the Jews in America to increase their number by substantial immigration, and would hardly contribute at all to the alleviation of the anguish of the Jews in Germany.

The Jewish problem in America, while presenting unique aspects, is part of a vastly larger social problem. There is a major premise upon which all such proposals to relax our immigration restrictions must be considered. This premise is the fact that the United States has already on its hands a task in social integration unlike that which any other nation in the world confronts. In the first place, our forefathers brought to our shores a million black men to be our slaves. They now number more than one-tenth of our total population. Besides, our long time policy of open immigration has drawn together a people composed of many nationalities and races. Groupings that are wholly irrelevant to our common national life persist among us with unexpected tenacity. The cleavages between these groups close all too slowly. The democratic process is working none too well in American society. Our practical partisan politics, and the actual administration of our laws, instead of working to integrate these groups in a single nationality, tends to exploit them. Thus hyphenism is kept alive far beyond the normal period otherwise required for a previous allegiance to be absorbed in common loyalty to America.

All this compels American policy to take account, not merely of its sympathies and its abstract ideals, but of the instabilities and perils of America's own social order. There is no ethical principle that requires either an individual person or a nation to expose itself to a condition sure to involve a moral overstrain. The success of the American experiment in projecting a democratic nation composed of elements so heterogeneous, demands that instead of inviting further complications by relaxing our immigration laws, these laws be maintained or even further tightened. Christian and other high-minded citizens have no need to feel apologetic for the limitations upon immigration into this country. It is ethically arguable that this limitation should have been established years before Congress became alive to its necessity.

With respect to the specific Jewish problem created by German inhumanity, this editorial, therefore, seems to end in a blind alley. We make no attempt to disguise our bafflement. Every ameliorative service that can be rendered the victims should be rendered. Public opinion in every land, and particularly in our own, should be given ample opportunity for expressing itself in outraged protest. Those nations which can receive refugees should do so. If we seem skeptical of the practicality of many of the present proposals for mass deportation to far away and unoccupied territories, we shall rejoice if events prove that we were of too little faith. Meantime the solution of the

deeper and universal problem of anti-Semitism rests, we hold, with the Christian church, and with the Jewish people themselves. Democracy cannot solve this deeper problem. Perhaps religion can. But there will have to be a drastic revolution in the Christian attitude and the Jewish faith before any realistic mind can profess to see ground for hope.

Do Catholics Want Religious Liberty?

PROTESTANTS and Roman Catholics have many interests in common, but there are also some sharp contrasts between their views of the social order. There are always possibilities of conflict when churches manifest an active interest in matters of public morality and public policy, but churches cannot seek peace and security for themselves by leaving those fields to the uncriticized control of secular forces. The possibilities of conflict are increased when different churches are enlisted on opposite sides of issues that must be determined by political action. Such opposition may be regrettable, but it is not to be avoided by a mere policy of "appeasement" under which one side, more anxious for peace than for what it believes to be justice, yields to the more uncompromising party which has served notice that it will not yield at all. If Christians cannot agree in all things, it can at least be expected of them that they shall differ like Christians.

A few weeks ago The Christian Century remarked that it was "hitting below the belt" to appeal for Protestant votes for the Republican state ticket in Maryland on the ground that the Democratic ticket contained a disproportionate number of Roman Catholics. Some readers took exception to that statement. One correspondent—no firebrand either, but a man of long and rich experience in social work—not only agreed with the spokesman of that appeal that "this ceases to be a political battle and the issue is definitely Catholicism vs. Protestantism," but went farther to say, in effect, that in America every political contest is at bottom an issue between Catholicism and Protestantism.

This, we do not hesitate to say, is a gross and dangerous exaggeration. In so far as it is believed, it tends to erect a barrier between two groups of Americans who have much in common and who must learn to cooperate if they are not both to be submerged by the forces of paganism and reaction. The two groups referred to are not the total body of Roman Catholics and the total body of Protestants but the liberal and socially minded of both. Of course not *all* Catholics and *all* Protestants will cooperate. For that matter, not even all Protestants will cooperate for social ends, whether the means to those ends be political action or voluntary association. But there are some Catholics and some Protestants who are like-minded with reference to the most important issues upon which the stability and perpetuity of our civilization depend. The battles upon these issues—battles sometimes waged with ballots at the polls and sometimes otherwise and elsewhere—are not sham battles. They are battles on which the very character of our democratic order rests.

The great questions of social and economic justice, for example, are such issues. They are not reducible to wars of religion, or to contests between the "true church" (whichever that is) and other churches. To consider them so is to divide the forces that make for righteousness and human welfare and throw the decision to the other side. If Protestants want to prevent the triumph of fascism or any other form of governmental autocracy in this country, it is important that they should not believe that all Catholics are fascists at heart. And if Catholics want to frustrate the threat of communism, they can take no more effective step than to repudiate the thought that all Protestants are essentially communists. There is plenty of good fighting to be done against those twin afflictions that can best be done by Catholics and Protestants who are opposed to both of them fighting shoulder to shoulder.

All of which is a necessary preliminary to prevent the misunderstanding of some other things that need to be said at this particular time.

There *are* issues upon which the Roman Catholic Church and the main body of Protestants stand not shoulder to shoulder but face to face. If it is important for Protestants to cooperate with Catholics in all matters in which cooperation is possible, it is no less important to resist when there is encroachment or attempted encroachment upon the people's liberties or abuse of the equal freedom which, according to the American way, is given to all faiths. If it is right, as it is, to join our voices and our hands in protesting against persecution of Jews and Catholics wherever it occurs, it is no less right to insist that the Roman Catholic Church shall come into court with clean hands in this matter of persecution and those lesser violations of religious liberty which consist in utilizing the power of the state to gain advantage for itself and to penalize the followers of other faiths.

The other night there was a nation-wide broadcast, including speakers from New York, San Francisco and points between, purporting to express Roman Catholic protest against nazi outrages upon the Jews. This was splendid. It was fair enough, also, that it should include suitable and critical comment upon the nazi treatment of Catholics, especially since the violence against the cardinals of Munich and Vienna was still fresh news arousing hot indignation—in which we cordially share. But Archbishop Mitty of San Francisco devoted most of his time to rehearsing the crimes of Mexico and loyalist Spain against the church, with no hint that the church had ever been anything but the bearer of light and liberty in those countries or that Franco's forces and allies in Spain had ever subjected civilian populations to the same ruthless treatment of which he accused the nationalists. Archbishop Mitty thinks there has been a conspiracy of silence about the treatment of priests and nuns by the loyalists. "Somebody muzzled the correspondents; somebody controlled the cables; somebody closed the columns of our press." On the contrary, there have been many columns of such news, though naturally not all the unverified atrocity stories sent out for propaganda purposes have gained the publicity or the credence that was desired.

But who has muzzled the correspondents of the Cath-

olic press? Were there no atrocities on the other side? A very recent book adds to our knowledge of facts already well known. In *A Diary of My Times,* Georges Bernanos, who is not only a Catholic but a devout one, reports what he has seen and known, especially in Majorca where he was living when the war began. He is no partisan of either side on the issues of the Spanish war, but he has seen and he circumstantially reports enough ruthlessness by Franco's men and their Italian allies toward civilians, women as well as men, to cloud beyond recognition that black-and-white contrast which the archbishop paints between the persecuted Catholics and their fiendish foes. "It was not so much the actual killings in Majorca that disgusted me," Bernanos writes, "as the fact that they were publicly approved by the great majority of secular priests, monks and nuns on that unhappy island. . . . And since in any case in Palma the proportion of 'reds' put to death with all due ceremony was as one against twenty or thirty mown down along the roadside by the official killers, it seems to me His Lordship the Archbishop of Majorca might logically have extended his solicitude to these as well."

Bishop Gannon, speaking from Cleveland on the same broadcast, began by saying: "As a Catholic bishop I am not unacquainted with persecution. My own people in many nations and ages have felt the hard heel of powerful, brutal political leaders." Shades of St. Bartholomew! Does the bishop think he can create in the American mind the impression that all the Roman Catholic Church knows about persecution is what it has experienced on the receiving end? Every country in which that church is now suffering persecution is a country in which it formerly practiced it and continued to practice it until the government got out of hand and refused to do its bidding.

Protestantism was persecuted in royalist Spain right down to the revolution of 1931, and persecution of Protestantism is practiced still in Franco's Spain. It was persecuted in Mexico until the church lost its power. It has been persecuted in most of the countries of South America, and is still hampered and harassed by clerical influences upon the governments of some of them. It was subjected to legal disadvantages in Catholic Austria until the anschluss a few months ago. The Papal State, until it was extinguished in 1870, made not the slightest pretense of granting religious liberty. Fascist Italy, quarreling with the Catholic Church in regard to its prerogatives, still gives it advantages denied to all others.

The annual report of the secretaries of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions, made public only last week, said: "Italian territory in Africa has already become practically impossible for Protestant missions. If General Franco wins in Spain, Protestant work is in danger of being absolutely forbidden." Not in the history of Protestant missions, says this report, has freedom of worship and teaching encountered such hindrances as now. The obstacles in Germany, Japan, and the occupied portions of China are of a purely secular origin. Those in Italy, the Italian colonies and nationalist Spain are chiefly due to the demand of the Roman Catholic Church for preferential treatment by governments.

What we were saying recently in regard to the Eastern Orthodox Church and the inconsistency between its attitudes at Utrecht and at Athens is relevant in this connection. In the ecumenical councils of the churches it professes and exhibits the most fraternal temper toward Christians of other folds; but where it is at home, strongly entrenched behind the shelter of a complaisant government, it puts the screws on dissenters and makes its Holy Synod the judge of what they may say or print about religion. In Rumania and certain other countries in Southeastern Europe, the domination of the Orthodox Church is even more pronounced. Yet the Orthodox in Polish Ukraine are even now bitterly protesting against their treatment by the Roman Catholic authorities in that country. Churches, whether Orthodox or Roman, whose idea of catholicity includes the right to proscribe worship and faith other than their own in areas where they have sufficient numerical strength and power with the government to make their proscription effective, cannot be surprised if their protests against intolerance and persecution in areas not under their control elicit some other sentiments besides sympathy. Sympathy for the persecuted—yes, always. But some uneasiness also lest they gain the dominance and special privilege which they claim as theirs by right and which they exercise wherever they can.

It is clear that persons who denounce persecution and plead for religious liberty are not all talking about the same thing. There must be millions of American Catholics who mean exactly what Protestants mean by religious liberty, at least so far as America is concerned. It is not so sure that that is what the Catholic hierarchy means, or that its protest against intolerance goes beyond a protest against intolerance directed toward Catholics. The saying of one word for the Jews and two for themselves in a case where they are suffering simultaneously from the arrogance and tyranny of the same power, does not give complete reassurance on this point.

In the light of these conditions, American Protestants are not at ease when they contemplate the persistent efforts of Roman Catholicism to build prestige and gain advantage by all sorts of methods other than the legitimate ones of persuasion and conversion. They do not see, for example, why an American cardinal visiting Italy should be accorded more honors by the American diplomatic staff than would be given to any American citizen or public official short of the President, or why this should be done—as it must have been done—under the direct orders of our state department. It suggests to them the ominous thought that perhaps this is a build-up for an exchange of diplomatic representatives between Washington and Vatican City, and against that they are prepared to protest with vigor and conviction.

They are disturbed by the spectacle of the Bishop of New York issuing a pastoral letter a few days before election, and having it distributed in all the churches of his diocese, urging Catholics to "vote for Amendment 1"—granting certain favors to parochial schools. The whole continuous campaign for such a radical change in our public school system as would be involved in the support of parochial schools by public funds is a matter of grave alarm. The proposals for the erection of gigantic statues of Saint Francis on a hilltop in San Francisco and of the Virgin Mary in Oregon—the latter on the specious pretext of "honoring motherhood"—are items of sectarian

propaganda whose true meaning is obvious and ominous.

This is no "hymn of hate." It is just as true at the end as it was at the beginning of this editorial that American Catholics and Protestants ought to cooperate for the advancement of their common cause. They can do so if they will realize that their common cause is the cause of the Christian as against the pagan, of the improvement of the social order, of the maintenance of liberty of conscience and of utterance, and of the absolute equality of all churches before the law and the separation of them all from the state.

The Demand for Brevity

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Has the person responsible for a meeting ever come to you, the Big Speaker of the Hour, with words like these: "I am afraid many of our people have to catch the 9:30 train, so perhaps it might be wise if you would keep on the shorter side. I would not think of setting a time-table, not in the least, but brevity, as you know"—with a smile—"is the soul of wit. . . ."

You may even have spoken with the counsel before you: "It is customary for the preacher to take fifteen minutes, and it is inadvisable for him to take more than twenty." And you have of course obeyed, though perhaps with difficulty.

You may even have met those monumental asses who believe that the multitudes are eagerly waiting outside the porch of the church till the sermons are reduced by five minutes. "They want sermons, brief, bright and brotherly," the preacher is told; "something crisp, like the firing of a Maxim gun; straight from the shoulder; hitting the bull's-eye every time." And so on till the metaphors are exhausted, for sometimes the advocates of brevity can be singularly lengthy. You must have encountered the chairman who blandly takes twenty minutes in saying that he has nothing to say, and calls upon you to add a few words and to remember that brevity is the soul. . . .

I am not a bit sure that dense crowds are waiting for short sermons. I gladly admit that they do not care for long sermons, but their real dislike for sermons is due partly to the contents of the sermons—to the quality and not the quantity—and partly to the direction of their minds toward other concerns than those which are discussed in sermons, great or small, long or short. To cut down the length, if that is all that is done, is of no use whatever, if we are thinking of drawing into the church those multitudes who, to use the New Testament phrase, are "without." As a plain matter of fact, do *you* find that the size of congregations is in inverse proportion to the length of the sermon?

The real virtue is to give to every thought or interpretation or emotion its fitting expression, with nothing superfluous and nothing lacking. If, for example, a poet has a swift, sudden emotion, he may write a lyric. The lyric may be very short; to make it longer would be an offense against the vision. But no one would demand of Milton that he be brief and bright. The "Samson Agonistes" cannot be shortened and remain what it set out to be and what it achieved.

For my own part I gladly admit that many poems, most novels and almost all hymns could be made shorter without any loss. How often the writer of a hymn carries out a scheme beyond the limits of his inspiration! There is a hymn which, though not among the two hundred great hymns, is still serviceable, "Christian, dost thou see them?" The writer clearly was led along by the scheme of using the senses one by one. An old friend of mine said that he missed his way by not beginning a verse with, "Christian, dost thou *smell* them?"

But there are books and sermons and even hymns which you wish were longer. Dr. Johnson said that three books come under that head. One of these—and you will agree, I am sure—was *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The others I think were *Don Quixote* and *Robinson Crusoe*. I suggest as a game for the winter season that sixteen members of the party put down on paper what three books they would wish to have longer.

Still, to return to my brief, I should like to urge that in their failure to keep the fitness of things, which is their chief concern, writers and speakers more often miss their way through prolixity than through brevity.

Ever yours briefly,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Harvest Moon

NOW fill the cribs with corn, the bins
With oats, and wait till prices rise.
My yellow harvest just begins
When yours dies.

I shall not wait to sell my crops
Now that at last my hands are free.
I take this moon before it drops,
Forgetting how it came to be.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

He Whom the Woods Have Nourished

HE whom the woods have nourished cannot go
To rant and clamor in the brawling mart.
There is a patience rooted in his heart
That the wheel-driven throng can never know.
He feels the tides of gentleness that flow
From leaf and flower, and finds himself a part
Of some great Whole untouched by strife or art,
Or gauds men grapple for, or joy or woe
That worldlings count. And all the storm and din
Reach him like tumults of an alien race,
Heard far away, with echoes scant and thin,
While the stern trees that point through blowing space
Seem more companionable, and more his kin,
Than the crowd grappling in the market place.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

Anti-Semitism Must Be Uprooted!

By Everett R. Clinchy

THE TIME has come for Christians to say of anti-Semitism, "This shall not be!" If Christians the world over are determined about this matter, that malignant disease of human minds and emotions, systematic hatred of Jews, can be banished. It is now clear to every thoughtful observer of nazism that Jew-spite, however petty or negligible at an early stage, leads to a collective neurosis of fiendish hate utterly devastating to the souls of Christians who indulge it. Anti-Semitism is mortal sin.

Christians have been indifferent to this curse, hate of Jews. Christians generally have derided Jews as pagans have derided them; ostracised Jews as the pagans ostracised them; believed rumors which the pagans scattered; repeated myths about Jews which hate-mongers manufactured for their own selfish ends. In several nation-wide polls of public opinion in the United States, taken by top-flight interviewers like the *Fortune* Magazine testing staff, no differences were found between church-goers and the unchurched in the attitudes, stereotypes, emotional conditioning toward Jews. That is a shocking fact! There is no Christian response which marks either Protestants or Roman Catholics as distinct from pagans on this current headline practice of Jew-baiting.

Is Anti-Semitism Growing in America?

To be sure, the American state of mind on the subject is not as disturbingly bad as some think. Americans agree with the reaction of Yale's president when he said about the nazi exhibition, "All civilized people are appalled by the brutality."

The well checked statistics on which the National Conference of Jews and Christians relies, collected by *Fortune* editors and others, reveal that 70 per cent of our citizens do not consider anti-Semitism in this country a hot danger at the moment. But the discovery that there are in the churches as well as on the highways every Sunday 30 per-cent of our people who reckon that anti-Jewish ill will is on the increase, in their own lives as well as in their environment, is startling. The problem facing Christian leadership looms larger also when we take into account that one-fifth of these who do not estimate anti-Semitism as "hot" confess that they themselves really have no conviction on the subject one way or the other.

Eighty per cent of our population say that they would not join an anti-Semitic movement. Ten per cent would; 10 per cent have no idea whether they would or not. Will anti-Semitism be commercially successful? That's the test of a shirt or a sheet racket. When the klan was "successful" the promoters pocketed $40,000 a month. The variable which will determine whether or not organized anti-Semitism will take hold in this nation will be propaganda. Malicious propaganda against Jews is being freely scattered. Will the forces at work to propagate the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Jew of Galilee, declare that anti-Semitism is devilish, a product of the nethermost hell, and automatically unchurch the man who harbors it? Unless Christians propagandize as vigorously as and more intelligently than the hate-mongers, there is enough original sin in human nature, without a doubt, to win the contest.

Checking Up on the Forgeries

Right now the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* demonstrated beyond controversy to be vile forgeries, are being dragged out again. Will the fifty million Christians in the United States tirelessly nail that document as a lie whenever it comes up? Will Benjamin Franklin's so-called "prophecy" against Jews which is being industriously distributed this fall, of which the historian Charles Beard says that he cannot find a single original source that gives the slightest justification for believing that it "is anything more than a bare-faced forgery," be challenged wherever it appears? Will the fifty million living American disciples of the Master patiently check all such counterfeits and tell gullible folk that they are false and libelous?

In an Ohio church forum an earnest questioner asked if it is true that the United States Federal Home Owner's liens are foreclosed when interest can't be paid "because of Jewish capitalists." The questioner seemed relieved to hear that no Jews, nor any other capitalists, were at fault; that Jews do not control Wall Street; that Jews are of minor importance in our industrial economy; that Jews cannot be proponents of atheistic communism and be members of the American synagogue. Will Christians go to the trouble to make trusted friends of believing Jews in their communities, and to ascertain and disseminate the facts?

How Much Anti-Semitism Is There?

The ground swell of anti-Semitism in the United States is not irresistible. In 1936 *Fortune* investigators asked Americans if they thought Germany would be better off if it drove out every Jew. Eighty-six per cent did not believe she would. This year 88 per cent are not convinced by the nazi solution. Do American Christians object to having their children associate with Jewish children? Seventy-eight per cent say flatly, "No objection." Eight per cent never gave the matter any thought. Fourteen per cent do object. But, curiously, the same proportion object to associating with orientals, and almost as many object to having their children associate with Italian Catholics, an objection that is probably cordially reciprocated by the same percentage of Catholics. A fact that brings up a problem deserving every bit as much attention as that for which the writer is asking consideration in this paper, is this: almost four times as many white Christians object to their children's associating with Negro children as object to Jews or Catholics. To Jewish readers of this article it might be pointed out for the sake of their own humility of spirit that if a similar investigation were made in Tel-Aviv, Palestine, asking Jewish Revisionists if they had any objection to their children's associating with Arabs, the positive response might top 14 per cent by several decimals!

American Christians may not be comparatively so uncivilized, after all.

Adjustments between Christians and Jews in this country are quite possible. Like all other intercultural and interracial relationships in times of speeded-up social change and high economic tensions, serious statesmanship is demanded. Statesmanship is the art of dealing with a situation while the factors are still manageable. Right now much can be done while interest is aroused and emotions, however mixed, are stirred by the piteous figures in central Europe enslaved by their own hate, who are working out the inevitable consequences of the nazi philosophy like condemned souls in Dante's inferno. Anti-Semitism can be uprooted from the Christian social heritage if Christian leaders take advantage of this crisis. Never before in Christian history have so many of the Christian laity given much thought to the implications of Christian love with regard to Jews. At no time previously have as many clergy taken as forthright a stand to assert frankly that anti-Semitism leads to anti-Christianity. Church school lesson writers and story editors are using Christian-Jewish relations as a new approach to the race relations problem. Young people's societies are taking it as a discussion topic. The American Jews, on their part, are developing a new degree of objectivity and self-criticism as they see Christians taking Christianity in earnest. Church women and men's societies, as a certain Y.W.C.A. secretary has said, see in this area "a new cause." American Christians can lick anti-Semitism.

Two Courses of Action

Two courses of action will be helpful in this undertaking. One is sociological; the other, religious. The first suggestion is that in every American town there be kept open a channel of communication between faithful Christians and faithful Jews: call it a round table, or clearing house, or simply an informal meeting of minds. The point is to communicate, to multiply the number of trusting friends across the lines which separate Christians and Jews.

The other course, fundamental to the first, is personal rededication to God. If one freshens his experience with God as his heavenly Father, and begins each day anew as an adventure in working out relationships with others on the principle of the family, two things will happen. He will become a changed person himself, and our American society will change. If that subconscious, if not conscious, cold, uncaring, superior, distrustful feeling toward a Jew is not faced honestly in the white light of intense religious conviction, then anti-Semitism will not be conquered.

God and National Policy

By Ernest Fremont Tittle

LET US think of God and national policy, not of national policy apart from God. The Christian church, when it undertakes to say anything about national policy, should have something to say that is quite different from what is being said in the very worst organs of secular journalism. In no uncertain terms the church should now say that national policy must reckon with God and his will for mankind, if it is not to lead to some overwhelming disaster. Long ago it was said, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it. Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." That is a saying whose validity we have now no reason to question. A civilization containing many structures which God was not permitted to build is now threatening to collapse. Mutual confidence, which is all-essential to a secure and ordered existence; regard for truth and right, which is an indispensable ingredient of human dignity; a fine tradition which calls for fair play, for good sportsmanship, for mercy, chivalry and a decent respect for the conscience of mankind—all this is now gravely imperiled. Certainly we now need to reckon with God and the moral structure of the world.

Confronted with a situation that is rapidly becoming intolerable, we all feel that something must be done. But what? There is as yet no one answer that is able to secure the assent of all intelligent and well meaning persons. There are, in fact, three answers that are now being given by persons who are well informed, whose motives and intentions are above suspicion, and who, in some cases, have not only affirmed but demonstrated their devotion to God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Each of these answers requires to be considered, along with the reasons for it and the doubts that are felt by some even of those whose own answer it is.

I

One answer is that brute force, now apparently triumphant, must be met with brute force; there is no other effective way of dealing with it. The dictators are on the march. They cannot be stopped with speeches; they can be stopped only with superior force. To be sure, we all, more or less, are responsible for conditions that grew out of the war and out of peace treaties which, as the King of Bulgaria has recently observed, blindly tore nations into pieces. Mistakes were made at Versailles, as we now know to our cost. And it is, of course, a thousand pities that we did not attempt years ago to rectify these mistakes. Now, however, it is too late. Now, any attempt to talk sense is scorned; any attempt to show mercy is misunderstood; any attempt to avoid war is interpreted as a sign of fear and weakness; any concession made in the interest of peace merely brings forth some new demand for the impossible. The dictators do not want peace; they want power and glory. Their hypnotized peoples would not now be content with justice; they want everything they can possibly get, at no matter what cost to the rest of the world. War, therefore, is inevitable. Sooner or later it is bound to come; and woe unto us if we allow it to be postponed much longer, for in that event the military odds, if not also the economic odds, would be in favor of the dic-

tators—a situation which we cannot afford to let develop.

That is one answer to the question, What must be done? There are, however, certain doubts of its wisdom that are felt even by some of its advocates.

1. There are those who hesitate to call for a war in which they themselves would not participate *at the front*. There are those who, being themselves beyond military age or otherwise disqualified for military action, dislike the idea of asking other men to go out and get killed or do the dirty work of killing women and children.

2. There are those who do not like the company in which they find themselves as advocates of a war to end war and fascism. Hating war as much as anybody does, they nevertheless find themselves advocating war, along with munition makers and the publishers and editors of a jingoistic press. And it does startle them a bit to find themselves in the camp of men whose notion of good sportsmanship is that arms and munitions should always be sold, at a good price of course, to both parties to an impending conflict, including nations that some day may be at war with one's own nation. It does make them feel a little uncomfortable to find themselves saying the selfsame things that are being said by newspapers whose editorial policy they have long and bitterly deplored.

3. There are those who shrink from some of the things that modern war involves. They hate to think of the lies it calls for, the wanton distortion of truth, the clever production of faked photographs and atrocity stories. They hate to think of the hate it breeds even in natures that are normally gentle. In September of the year 1918, a highly respected and greatly beloved bishop of an American church declared: "All this indiscriminate, flabby, spineless, godless talk about loving the Germans ministers to a wrong peace, a peace which will not last overnight." But this bitter repudiation of the teaching of Jesus Christ by one of his official spokesmen was, after all, quite unnecessary. In the mass hysteria of 1918 there was but very little talk about loving the Germans; and talk about hating the Germans, of which there was plenty, led eventually to the peace of Versailles! There are advocates of war who find themselves dreading to think of what another world war would do to the human spirit. Nor do they take kindly to the fact that the "great democracies," if they should go to war, would cease to be democracies and themselves become military dictatorships, certainly during the period of the war and probably for a long time thereafter. And, of course, no one who is not a moron relishes the idea of killing women and children.

The weapons of war are not the same as the weapons of a decent police force. A loyal, uncorrupted policeman does not deliberately circulate lies or deliberately stir up hate. He does not set out to kill and mutilate innocent people. He does not drop bombs upon hospitals or apartment houses or market places where women and children are gathered together. He does not shoot up an entire neighborhood in order to apprehend a gangster. When he gets his man, he does not take the law into his own hands, himself pass judgment and execute penalty. There is, of course, no analogy between force as used by reputable policemen and force as used by a modern army.

4. There are those who sometimes wonder whether a war, even though the democracies should win it, would after all achieve the results for which (by idealists) it was fought. Twenty years ago we made a war to end war. Then, flushed with victory—and fear and hate—we made a peace in which there was no peace. We got rid of the Kaiser; we did not get rid of German militarism, or Italian, or British, or French. To the end, as Woodrow Wilson put it, "that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people; but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of life, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and the powerful"—to that end we sacrificed many millions of human lives. With what result? Today, Japan is in China; Italy is in Ethiopia and in Spain; Germany is in Spain, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia—and she is threatening to extend her policy over the whole of central Europe. Twenty years ago we fought "for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as would bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free." Today, we are threatened with a universal dominion of brute force by such a concert of enslaved peoples as would turn the world into a madhouse. There are those who wonder whether an attempt which, twenty years ago, resulted so disastrously is now worth repeating.

5. There are some who find it not a little difficult to suppose that a Christlike God can view with approval such lying and hatred, such mass hysteria and indiscriminate killing as are now inseparable from war. In the sixth century the barbarian King Clovis, on hearing for the first time the story of the crucifixion of Christ, is said to have exclaimed, "Had I been there with my victorious Franks, I would have avenged his injuries!" Today, however, there are those who wonder whether the injuries of Christ could be avenged by hating, killing and mutilating men for whom he died.

II

Another answer is that military aggression can and should be stopped by a complete isolation of the aggressor. Let us refuse to sell an aggressor anything, even foodstuffs. Let us refuse to lend him money for any purpose whatsoever. Let us forbid our ships to enter his ports, and his ships to enter ours. Let us resolutely refuse to have anything to do with him until he comes to his senses. Then, of course, our attitude toward him should change; we should become friendly not only in feeling but in action. Then we should undertake to rectify the mistakes of Versailles. Then we should seek economic appeasement and some rational, just solution of the colonial problem. But not until then. An attempt to do justly by all concerned would now be of no avail. It would only be misunderstood. It would be taken as a confession of fear and weakness. It would but feed the pride and arrogance of the dictators, encouraging them to come forward with some new outrageous demand. No, the dictators must first be stopped. They must be made to listen to reason. Only then can there be any useful attempt to do justly by all concerned.

1. Now, most if not all of the advocates of this course of action are strongly opposed to war. They do not think that any good could possibly come out of another world war. Yet, as they are bound to admit, the course they ad-

vocate is by no means free of the threat of a general war. They know that a few years ago the League of Nations, when it announced its intention to "quarantine" Italy, was flatly told by Il Duce that any refusal to sell him oil would mean war. They know that recently a somewhat timid announcement by the league to the effect that any one of its nation members, acting on its own initiative, might refuse to have economic dealings with Japan was promptly met by Prince Konoye with a declaration to the effect that any recourse to sanction measures against Japan would find the Japanese prepared to take appropriate measures in response. When they talk like this are the dictators only bluffing? Perhaps; but no one can be sure.

It is at least conceivable that any serious attempt on the part of the democracies to "gang up," in an economic way, against the dictators would lead the dictators, if driven to desperation, to "gang up," in a military way, against the democracies. Dictators cannot lose and remain dictators, as they themselves are well aware. If, then, they were forced to choose between certain defeat by economic starvation and probable, but not certain, defeat in a general war, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that they would choose the latter rather than the former —a possibility which cannot but give pause to any mind that does not suppose that any good could possibly come out of another world war. Advocates of an economic boycott who themselves dread war, because they think it is bound to be futile and utterly destructive, cannot but be apprehensive lest the course they are advocating may lead to war.

2. Some of them are not quite sure that the course they advocate, even though it should not lead to war, would lead to economic appeasement. Their hope, of course, is that, if and when the dictators are stopped, something constructive can be done. But, as they realize, there are two big obstacles in the way of this hope.

(a) One is the fact, pointed out in a recent editorial of the *New York Times,* that the three democracies—Great Britain, France and the United States—alone possess three-fourths of the world's gold, control half of the world's shipping, produce more than half of the world's steel and three-fourths of the world's oil. This fact, as the *New York Times* sees it, is occasion for great rejoicing on the part of the democracies, inasmuch as it "indicates on which side of the fence the real resources of ultimate power lie." But concerning this fact it might also be suggested that it indicates how very unequal in the world of today is the distribution of economic opportunity. It might further be suggested that nations which are themselves profiting by economic inequality, *so long as they make no attempt to correct it,* will find it futile to ask nations that suffer from it to listen to reason. All too obvious is the reply: "Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye; and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

(b) Another obstacle is, of course, the human heart. No man who is himself a beneficiary of economic inequality finds it easy even so much as to see and admit that he is, much less to do something about it. It is, perhaps, a safe assumption that he would not find it easier to do something about it if he should be led to believe that he, the beneficiary of injustice, is a veritable Sir Galahad, whereas his neighbor, a victim of injustice, is a veritable devil. Given the most favorable psychological conditions, the three democracies which now possess and control most of the world's gold and iron and oil would not find it easy to be just. Would they find it possible to be just if they should develop in themselves a spirit of self-righteousness and of bitter fear and hate, such as any serious, large-scale attempt to invoke economic sanctions would certainly produce?

3. There are some who do not feel sure that a complete isolation of the aggressor is God's way out, seeing that what it really comes to is the declaration: *If and when you repent, then, but not until then, will I undertake to be just.*

III

A third answer is that military aggression can be stopped only by a valiant, persistent attempt to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with God. Nations which twenty years ago, at the close of a "successful" war, had a grand opportunity to heal the wounds of the world but which, being themselves steeped in fear and hate, chose instead to rub salt into them, must now lay aside all foolish pride and vainglory, all talk about an "honor" that is not honor but only selfishness mouthing the language of idealism, and take the initiative in a determined attempt to do something rational and just. Nations which today have far more than their share of economic opportunity must take the initiative in a determined attempt to secure at least some approach to equality of opportunity for all. Every nation must give up its claim to be judge in its own cause. Every nation must consent to "the abolition of the whole conception of individual ownership of undeveloped territories." Every nation must undertake within its own borders to solve the problem of distribution, to the end that its own people, all of them, may enjoy a possible economy of plenty; and to the end, also, that the awful strain of international competition for the bare necessities of life may be greatly reduced. Until these things are done, gentlemen may cry, "Peace! Peace!" but there will be no peace. Only if these things are done will war and preparation for war come to an end. In order that they may now be done, world conferences, one after another, must be convened.

1. Now, it will, I think, be conceded that this answer has at least some things in its favor. It does not require you to do any dirty work such as killing women and children. It does not require you to ask other men to do dirty work or, indeed, to do anything that you yourself are unwilling or unable to do. It does not require you to lie or to believe lies. It does not require you to hate or to stir up hatred. It does not require you to harm any man or woman or little child on earth. It does not require you to line up with people whose jingoism makes you sick because, as you know, it is only self-interest masked as patriotism. It does not require you to use means that are despicable and wholly incompatible with the ends you are seeking to achieve. It does not require you to fly in the face of every terrible truth that recent history has brought to light. It does not require you to suppose that a war engineered—as behind the backs of the fighting men it

certainly would be—by American money-lenders, French militarists, English tories and imperialists could, by some miracle, be made to serve the ends of justice, democracy and peace. It does not require you to suppose that if, by economic threats and penalties, you stir up more fear, more hate, more rage and vindictiveness, you will then be in a better position than you now are to start building a decent world. It does not require you to suppose that, if you refuse to do what you ought to do until your neighbor stops doing what he ought not to do, a day will presently come when a good time can be had by all.

2. It is, however, a fact that what this answer calls upon you to do is something for which the world as a whole may not be ready. You may find yourself wondering how far an attempt in this direction would get. You may find yourself doubting that it would get very far. But at this point a few observations are in order.

One is that if an attempt of this nature cannot possibly succeed we are sunk. Another is that we ought, therefore, to make such an attempt. A third is that even in the situation which now exists there is, after all, not a little to encourage hope that such an attempt might eventually succeed. There is, almost universally, a sane fear of war which is something brand new in history. There is, in many places, a popular understanding of the underlying causes of war such as no previous generation possessed. Even in certain high places, there is a promising desire to do something constructive. Mr. George Lansbury has just returned from a visit to southeastern Europe in the interest of understanding, reconciliation and appeasement. In Bulgaria he was told by the prime minister that he for his part "warmly supported the calling of a conference of the nations to promote international economic reconstruction." In Rumania he discovered that King Carol "had thoroughly mastered the van Zeeland report and was enthusiastically in favor of the proposal for a world economic conference." In Yugoslavia he discovered that the prime minister was fully conversant with the van Zeeland report and that he, too, thought a world conference to consider it should now be called. Not long ago, Mr. Lansbury was accorded a private interview with Herr Hitler during which the latter told him that he, for his part, would welcome a world conference in the interest of economic appeasement providing it were proposed by President Roosevelt or by the head of another great country. Recently the King of the Belgians, standing before his father's tomb, made an eloquent plea for a start to be made now in this direction. More recently, the dominant political party in France officially endorsed the proposal for a world economic conference. No one knows, no one in advance of action can know, how far a rational, merciful attempt to do something constructive might go. But there is this fourth observation to be made: Such an attempt—and no other—might confidently claim the approval and support of God.

Nothing now can be done without risk. War involves risk. An economic boycott involves risk. A rational, merciful attempt to do something healing and redemptive involves risk. But, choosing the third of these risks, you do something which, making any other choice, you do not do: you give God a chance to show what he can do, working through men who, having no selfish ends to serve, are attempting to create a situation in whose blessings and opportunities all the peoples of earth may share.

The Fly in the Protestant Ointment

By Edgar DeWitt Jones

THE first verse of the tenth chapter of Ecclesiastes depicts a condition not pleasant to contemplate. The sight of dead flies floating in costly perfume is offensive to the fastidious. Yet the verse has become proverbial and in its own way is eloquent. One look at such a mess and one whiff are enough. "A fly in the ointment" signifies something disagreeable and deplorable, something that has happened to mar what would otherwise be lovely to look at, pleasant to think about. And a fly in the Protestant ointment can mean only a blight, a weakness in a liberating movement with a glorious heritage.

I

The Protestant revolution occurred more than four hundred years ago, but the story still has power to thrill. One cannot read the account of it, after these centuries, without being deeply stirred by the protest of that movement, as well as by its achievements. It is possible to summarize the Protestant Reformation in three brief phrases: 1. the Bible as a rule of action; 2. the right of private judgment; 3. justification by faith. These principles meant and still mean that the open Bible, freed from all restrictions, translated into the vernacular of the people, shall be put into their hands with encouragement to read it for themselves; that each individual shall be permitted to make his own decisions in the matter of religion and that he shall not be coerced or browbeaten into accepting any doctrine or system of religion; that every man may be his own priest, that salvation is the result of personal loyalty to Him who is the Head of the church, and not the reward of practices demanded and imposed by institutions or ecclesiastics. These three principles exalt the right of every man to go to God without any human mediation; they stress what the early Baptists used to call "soul freedom."

Freedom is a major note in the Protestant movement. Luther himself never dreamed of the dynamite in the forces that he had unleashed. Always the bestowal of liberty and the boon of freedom are accompanied by the possibilities and likelihood of abuse. Protestantism and democracy possess the same strength and the same weaknesses. It is an interesting fact that where there are democratic governments—and by this term I mean also constitutional monarchies—there Protestantism is strongest. This is certainly true in the Scandinavian countries,

in Holland, in Great Britain and in America. Now democracies are notoriously inefficient. They are often lumbering in action, and subject to the caprice of popular leaders. Surely this is true of our democracy. We have liberty and are proud of it, but we do not accept gladly the responsibilities that go with liberty. Rarely is there an election when 50 per cent of the voters go to the polls. Often the most competent citizens refuse to stand for public office. Sectionalism is only too often rampant. Only a comparatively few people are interested enough in government to make its good a major concern and to sacrifice in order that government of the people may not perish from the earth.

II

A fly in the Protestant ointment is the tendency to divide, the failure to cooperate. It is not pleasant to face the bitter fact that Protestants war one with another and confuse liberty of conscience with a license to practice an individualism that tends to anarchy with "every man a law to himself." If a democracy is "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," then Protestantism may be defined as "Christianity of the people, by the people, and for the people." And in both instances the wise use of liberty, the necessity of unity and of the cooperative mind are paramount.

Recently a curious pamphlet came through the mails to me. It was a religious tract, and from a fellow Protestant. This sentiment was typed on it and signed by the sender's name: "You are on the road to hell; why not be a Baptist and declare the whole Bible? Campbellites never taught me regeneration of the soul. I am wondering if you know anything about it." I do not cite this as a reflection upon the great Baptist denomination. I am constantly speaking for Baptist churches and conventions of Baptists, and I have never been among a friendlier people. I have great admiration for many of the Baptist leaders, and I am thrilled when I read their history. The Baptists have no monopoly on partisanship. In practically all the communions of Protestantism there are groups, voiceful and noisy, who are engaged in this civil war in the Protestant household of faith. Can you imagine one Catholic addressing another publicly in such terms as these? You cannot.

There is in circulation an elaborately printed folder which was sent to thousands of ministers. It is entitled *Our Pro-Socialist Churches,* and the subtitle is, "This refers to your church if your church is a constituent denomination of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America." This folder was compiled and published by a distinguished gentleman, now gone to his long home, who was at one time a member of the Presbyterian Church but withdrew his support when his church along with many others aided the prohibition movement. The booklet attacks the Federal Council of Churches and a long list of ministers connected with the council. It seeks to link the council with Moscow. It makes a savage attack upon E. Stanley Jones, Kagawa and other great Christian leaders of our churches. Here is a Protestant indicting Protestantism, making more confusion, spreading suspicion and distrust.

What is the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America? It is a group of the Christian denominations in America federated together for evangelism, world peace and a closer cooperation of the churches. It has battled against social injustice, the liquor evil, the divorce evil and many other present-day evils. It arrogates no power to itself, nor has it been delegated by any outside power to make demands on the churches or enforce them. It depends on its moral influence. It advises, it counsels, and as best it can acts as the voice of American Protestantism in behalf of a better world. Local councils of churches, for example, which are affiliated with the national body, conduct Lenten services, support hospital pastors, pay for street preaching and carry on for the general welfare of the cities in which they are located. The twenty-three communions in the Federal Council are represented by church men and women officially selected by the various bodies in convention assembled. It is absurd, false and vicious to charge that this organization is linked with communism and extreme radicalism. It simply isn't so. And yet here we have a glaring example of the weakness of Protestantism. And how helpless we seem to be about it.

Take another case of Protestant sniping. There is in this country a fundamentalist minister of great natural ability who specializes in attacking fellow preachers whose theological attitudes are at variance with his own. He delights to lump together some of the best known preachers of America and castigate them as having communistic leanings. He attacks these men by name and as proof of his allegations he refers to a book entitled *The Red Network,* which publishes a list of men and women that reads like *Who's Who in America.* He uses this book as an authority despite the fact that the Honorable Hamilton Fish, in his report to Congress on communistic activities in this country, discounts it as being untrustworthy and declares that it contains scores of names of men and women who are not remotely related to communism and whose characters and conduct are above reproach. Nevertheless this preacher continues to assail his fellow ministers and bear false witness against them. In truth he revels in this sort of thing.

What can be done about so sorry a spectacle and such a perversion of the principles and spirit of Christianity? Attempt to put a ban on this man's utterances? No, not unless they degenerate into downright slander. It is our duty to contend for the right of private judgment even when the taste of the offender is execrable and his spirit anti-Christian. For that right is more precious than amenity and in the long run such uncharitable speech defeats itself. All the same, this is a fly in the Protestant ointment, a Hessian fly, so to speak, and the mess is odoriferous in the extreme. Bad as it is, however, it is not so bad as a system which muzzles speech, demands uniformity, clamps down on all opposition and tyrannizes the citizen in the name of state or religion.

III

This Protestant principle of liberty, in order to be effective, must be patiently and generously applied. If the right of private judgment is granted, differences of opinion are inevitable. The truth is that Protestantism has always been a little fearful of the right of private judg-

ment and has handled that principle gingerly and with grave doubts as to its workability. Protestantism has tended to produce an obstinate individualism wherever the principle of independence has not been modified by the spirit of unity and cooperation. There is an all too great number of "happy-go-lucky Protestants" who boast of their religious heritage, flaunt their independence, and stop at that. They think the church is a great institution—for the other fellow. They cannot be counted upon in any cooperative enterprise. Like Rutledge they "ride alone." They are the "officious observers" in the Protestant movement who specialize in protestations.

Protestantism and democracy rise and fall together. Liberty may deteriorate into license and orderly processes may fade into inefficiency. There are plenty of headaches in a democracy of any kind, whether it be political or religious; but there are also, thank God, some glorious heartbeats. For a democracy has within itself the cure for its ailments. The finest statement of the essence of a democracy, in my judgment, is to be found in Hamilton Fish Armstrong's little book, *We or They:*

> To be liberal does not mean to understand all principles and to have none. The democratic principle is that the majority has the right to govern and that the minority has the right to criticize and oppose the majority. The liberty of the majority is limited by the right of the minority to dissent from the majority; in this right originate all the other rights of the citizen. But the right of the minority to dissent is limited by the right of the majority to rule, and by the majority's duty to restrain minorities which threaten to overthrow the majority by force and destroy all liberties. The majority has the moral right to exercise power, but it is the trustee of that right and must so exercise its power that a different majority may overrule it tomorrow, and another majority may overrule that one the day after. The majority of today shall not put chains on itself and on all future majorities any more than it shall make people of a particular color slaves. It shall not accept a dictator. Even the sovereign right of the people stops short of the right of suicide.
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> This is not a compromise between doctrines. It is a doctrine, the democratic doctrine, which proclaims the right of free petition between political parties composed of free individuals as the best method of assuring peaceable progress. It proceeds through trial and error. It is based on the assumption that no man is infallible and that there does not exist a political science. When one discards this doctrine one must accept the dictatorial doctrine, according to which there are infallible men whose commands are not to be opposed. Lenin was right, Mussolini and Hitler are right: between the two doctrines there is no compromise. Our society or theirs. We or they.

Protestantism needs to take to heart this fine statement, accept its implications and work out resolutely the high destiny that is possible for a democratic form of government, whether in church or state. Much as one regrets the guerrilla warfare of which some fellow Protestants are guilty, free speech must be upheld. We simply have to go on "speaking the truth in love," hoping and praying, and believing that in the end exemplary Christian conduct will prove the one panacea for Protestantism's unhappy divisions, conflicts and woes.

IV

Examples of local congregations where the spirit of unity exists amid diversity of opinion are not hard to find. Let me cite as an example a congregation of which I have had an intimate acquaintance for nearly two decades. In this church of more than a thousand active members there are both liberals and fundamentalists, but the great majority of the members could not be accurately classified with either school of theology. These churchmen refuse to be labeled. There is also a small group who find an interest in the movement known as "Unity," and the Oxford Group movement has perhaps a score of adherents. A still smaller contingent in this congregation are interested in the Anglo-Israel theory. Yet the membership as a whole is not disturbed or affected deeply by this diversity of viewpoint. As long as these various "groupers" do not seek to make their tenets a test of fellowship in the church, neither the pastor nor the office-bearers have any concern about the matter. The right of private interpretation is enjoyed by this church and at the same time the spirit of unity is cherished and cultivated. The congregation seeks one mind upon personal devotion to the Christ and the growth in those qualities which so become those who follow him. And in Christ it is united.

Nor is a church like this one unusual. There are many such churches which enjoy unity in the midst of diversity of opinion, and so give to the world a shining example of both democracy and Protestantism working out fruitfully certain basic principles. Since this is possible with local churches it would seem that this attitude and spirit might well characterize the wider groups of Protestantism.

The term Protestantism is no more equivalent to the term Christian than "Republican" or "Democrat" is equivalent to the term American. Protestantism is a method of belief, a spirit, an attitude. It is democracy in religion. It is concerned with our common life, trusts the human mind, listens for the beating of the human heart. But there is something more to Protestantism than protest, and at its best Protestantism is a way rather than a goal. The Galatian letter, though written nineteen centuries ago by a great first century Christian liberal, is applicable to our own day. In that letter, St. Paul faces the issues we face, namely, the right use of liberty, the mastery of freedom. It is not a deliverance from law for which we wait; that would disintegrate society. It is a deliverance within law, the transformation of law by what the New Testament calls love. Like a bugle-blast come the words of the apostle: "Stand fast therefore and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage."

Beyond Protestantism is a nobler and ampler Christianity. How ample and noble it may become depends upon the enlargement of soul on the part of the children of the Protestant revolution. The fine epigram of Wendell Phillips is applicable here: "If the Alps piled in cold and silence be the symbol of despotism, we take the ocean as the emblem of freedom, pure only because it is never still."

From This Dark Earth

FROM this dark earth let the gaze climb
The long stem of the centuries
And rest upon the still unopened bud
Floating in island air:
A perfect world to be,
A golden-petaled mirror of the sun.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

BOOKS

The Beginning of Christian Casuistry

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. *By James Moffatt. Harper & Brothers, $3.50.*

WHEN HORACE wanted to show that it is hard to gain the prize, he cited a Greek proverb that "it is not every man's lot to get to Corinth." We might well say the same about getting to the heart of the letters to Corinth. Yet even in the succession of famous British commentators, such as Dean Stanley, T. C. Edwards, the Welsh scholar, F. W. Robertson of Brighton, and John Hamilton Thom, the friend of James Martineau, the one who has given the name to this set of commentaries and the writer of this one in particular, earns his own distinction.

Dr. Moffatt brings, together with his scholarly discrimination, a mind steeped in literature. Indeed this volume is a sort of prose version of that blending together of the Christian and the classical, of the Hebraic and the Hellenistic, which one finds in a Miltonic epic. This is not because the writer belongs to the pedants who have drunk ink, but because the problems of human beings are recurrent, and because there can be no end to what he calls "the beginning of Christian casuistry."

Life may be other than an Ixion wheel, but it is worth noting that, in the very city where Oedipus is said to have unwittingly committed incest, this letter shows the church dealing with the same offense. Where stood the two temples devoted to the cult of Isis-Osiris, and where the ritual of search for the scattered limbs took place, the Christian followers are asked, "Is Christ divided?" It was in Corinth that the marriage of Jason and Medea ended in a tragedy, and here the same problems of maladjustment between men and women recur. Is it a mere coincidence that to the city of Sisyphus, whose futile labors have become legendary, there should come the words, "Your labor is not in vain in the Lord"? Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to see in the song of victory, the *epincion* over death, the extension of those odes of Pindar at the Isthmus in which he praised the physical prowess of men. It is just because the cliques, the litigation, the prostitution of holy things, the petty jealousies of man are ever carried into the sanctuary, and because they are seen in I Corinthians, under the solvent of the Christian spirit, that this piece of Christian literature requires a periodical reinterpretation.

Sound and sane as is the critical exposition given by Professor Moffatt, the *obiter dicta* of this commentary will impress the reader most deeply. Packed at times into aphorisms, one finds deeply spiritual estimates for contemporary life. The church is evaluated not as a mere voluntary association, not as a debating society, a social club or spiritualistic circle. It is a fellowship of the "called" rather than a swarm of self-conceited religionists. Here one catches a glimpse both of the heroic task of the apostle and of the real *high* churchmanship of the expositor.

Again, on the vexed question of the *glossolalia* about which pages have been written by others, we are given in this commentary another appreciation of the apostle's ability. He guides the Corinthians to a conviction that the prophet is not a mere medium or a ventriloquist for the unseen world, but a discriminating mind that loves God with clear judgments. In this way ecstasy and evaluation are combined.

Years ago, Archibald Hodge taught at Princeton that "all theology must be theocentric," and that only confusion arises when it is grouped Christocentrically. Von Hügel, the Catholic, later issued a warning against what he termed "undue Christocentricism." Professor Moffatt deals with this also and points out a subtle temptation in the "form of Christ mysticism which loosens the nexus between God and Christ, till God became less relevant and significant than Jesus the Lord for worship and action."

Equally noteworthy are the comments on the section which deals with marriage. The commentator regards it as a fundamental principle of Christianity in the teaching of Paul that—in words of Professor Hocking—"sex love, completely understood, has no psychological need of physical relationship nor of marriage." In the words of the former, we read: "In certain cases even marriage is not essential to the complete development of human nature." Paul, he says, also knew too much of human nature to insist that the indissolubility of marriage to which he adheres should be rigidly applied in every case.

Someone has written —was it Glover?—that Paul is never so great as when you are able to disagree with him. Certainly in Dr. Moffatt's exposition there is no slavish acceptance of an infallible oracle. Indeed he says that the generalizations of the apostle are to be taken with "several" grains of salt. Furthermore, there is the due recognition of the apocalyptical categories with the conditioning involved. Yet we conclude the review of this, another addition to a valuable series, with an increasing insight into the mind and heart of the great apostle. What greater compliment than this could we pay to one who gives another introduction of Paul to his generation?

W. P. LEMON.

Books in Brief

METHODISM IN EASTERN WISCONSIN, 1832-1850. *By Elizabeth Wilson. Wisconsin Conference Historical Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (or Methodist Book Concern, 740 Rush St., Chicago), 50 cents.*

Miss Wilson, who knows Wisconsin Methodism both by heredity and by research, deals with its first thirty years, from the arrival of John Clark at Green Bay to evangelize the Oneida Indians and the white settlement that was growing up around the fort, down to the time when the publication of conference minutes began to give a more stable foundation for history. But the materials for this early period, though scattered, are substantial. A useful contribution to early midwestern church history.

GROUND UNDER OUR FEET, AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *By Richard T. Ely. The Macmillan Company, $3.00.*

"Three of my ablest students, Albert Shaw, John H. Finley and Woodrow Wilson . . ." But Professor Ely got an early start. At 27 he had his Ph.D. from Heidelberg and was "head of the department of economics" (and the only full-time instructor in that subject) at Johns Hopkins. He is only 84 now, and still going strong. This somewhat informal story of his long and active life not only freshens memories of the great service he has rendered but reveals an unusually alert and flexible mind. He had a great feud with the elder La Follette during the war. Now he writes: "I do not feel so sure as I did then that La Follette was wrong and Woodrow Wilson right. If La Follette had been nominated and elected in 1912, it is quite possible that the country might be

far better off than it is now." One high spot is the story of his trial by the regents of the University of Wisconsin on the charge of being a socialist. He never was one. But he was too much of a liberal to escape the accusation thirty years ago. His victory advanced the cause of academic freedom, especially in economics, not only in Wisconsin but in the whole country.

OUR AMERICAN TROPICS. *By John E. Jennings, Jr. Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, $2.50.*

When the snow begins to fly, this is going to be a very comforting book for those who can take their pleasures by proxy and imagination, and a very tantalizing one for those who cannot. The tropics it tells of are southern Florida, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. It gives a certain amount of history, a general survey of economic and other factors of importance to residents, and ample data for tourists.

GOD IN OUR LIVES. *By Rolland W. Schloerb. Harper & Brothers, $1.50.*

"What does God mean to us today?" is the question asked, and so far as may be answered, in this thoroughly helpful volume by the co-pastor of the Hyde Park Baptist Church, Chicago. Dr. Schloerb writes rather as a pastor who has been at close grips with the perplexities of his people, than as a theologian. Yet one can readily see that sound theological thought lies back of what he writes. He utilizes no short-cuts and dispenses no cheap and easy substitutes. A thoughtful, friendly, stimulating book for preacher or people.

CORRESPONDENCE

Let the Federal Council Act

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I endorse the daring and strategic suggestion made by Albert W. Palmer in the November 9 issue of The Christian Century for the Federal Council of Churches in America to call a world economic conference.

Governments of the world, cognizant of the precarious economic situation that breeds war, will ignore such a call. Let the Federal Council initiate an economic conference, and do it quickly for God's sake!

Owls Head, Maine. KENDALL D. BASS.

See Page 1453

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May I be very urgent in suggesting that The Christian Century do all in your power to continue the plan by Dr. Palmer in his article "Call a World Economic Conference." Do something *effective*, and do it *now!* By all fair means, *do it!*

M. E. Church, A. J. BISSINGER.
Gravity, Iowa.

Anarchy is the World's Malady

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: . . . It is as impossible to obtain economic disarmament as reduction of military establishments so long as anarchy is the basic fact in international relations. Since we have failed utterly to persuade nations to give up the use of such weapons as gas, bombing of cities and sinking of unarmed merchantmen on the military fronts, what reason is there to think that we shall be any more successful in securing an abandonment of such weapons as protective and discriminative duties on the economic front? . . . A world conference such as that projected by Dr. Palmer would swiftly run against insurmountable walls with foundations deep down in areas with which it would have no competence to deal.

To place a too exclusive emphasis upon economic motivations in an analysis of contemporary affairs is to fall into the same error which the communists make in their interpretation of history. Prolonged injustice in this area was without doubt chiefly responsible for the escape of present-day demons from the bottle but can the righting of these wrongs alone put the genii back? Are not wills to further power by those already drunk with it, and fanatical nationalistic spirits among populations dominated by them, equally formidable obstacles to the creation of a civilized world order?

There is no disagreement with the contention that we must do something at once, but that something must be comprehensively adequate. To attempt to deal seriatim with fundamental factors which are intimately interrelated and interdependent is to court certain failure and the serious handicap to all subsequent efforts which inevitably results from a fiasco. All the apparently disparate evils are simply varying symptoms of the deadly organic malady of the world, anarchy. Until the governmental specific for that disease is applied, remedies for its concomitant ills must fail to produce international well-being.

New York City. VERNON NASH.

Ready to Follow

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: President Palmer has struck the right note. I believe he has lighted the torch that will lead the world back into the path of righteous peace and away from the dark abyss of war. I urge you to go on.

Along with many other peace loving people I have thought, studied, prayed, joined numerous peace movements and organizations but up to this good hour I have not found anything that appeals to me as does this proposal. I am chairman of the Committee on Social Education and Action in the synod of Texas to which I belong.

I agree that if the United States government does not call the conference, then let the church, Christendom, do it. I am a busy pastor with plenty of committee work to do, but if Dr. Palmer will lead on, I promise that I will give my best efforts to his effort. I am tired of waiting and inaction for lack of a specific program. I have worked and at the same time prayed that God would raise up a man to lead the way. I have a strong feeling that he is that man. I am ready to join in urging that the Federal Council wait on the President of the United States and in case he feels that he cannot call the conference, then I am ready to urge that the council take the lead and move with as much speed as can be made in such weighty matters.

New Orleans, La. G. L. SNEED.

Make Saturday Night Religious

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have a suggestion to make that has tremendous possibilities for improving the Sunday morning church services. It is simply this: that we endeavor to make Saturday night a sacred period of preparation for the Lord's Day. Saturday night has become the traditional party night for America—late hours and boisterous carousing have become typical of this night. If there must be a party on the week-end, I suggest that Sunday evening would be preferable as far as the church is concerned. Some ministers will object on the grounds that this will interfere with Sunday evening church service. The solution would be to replace the Sunday evening service with a Saturday evening devotional service.

No doubt there are many practical difficulties in this suggestion, but isn't it worth trying?

Church of Christ, ELDRED JOHNSTON.
Paulding, Ohio.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Churchmen Spike Charity Drive

Leaders Clash with Fund Officials as Drive Lags—School Children Sent to View Military Parade

(Correspondence from St. Louis)

ST. LOUIS, Nov. 17.—When the annual United Charities fund-raising campaign opened Nov. 1 with a goal of $2,495,170, it was faced with an outbreak of sharp criticism from leaders of local denominations which sponsor church hospitals. The churches focused their attack on the fact that the fund gives money only to hospitals that show an operating deficit, regardless of the amount of charity work they may do. The denominations that have hospitals which do not receive aid from the United Charities fund are the Baptist, Evangelical, Disciples and Lutheran.

Oliver F. Richards, president of the United Charities, condemned the church leaders for launching their publicity on the eve of the effort to raise the fund. The church leaders replied that a number of times previously they had raised their protests, only to be ignored by the administrators in charge of the charities fund. They were upheld by the church federation's social service commission, which is headed by Dr. Truman B. Douglas, pastor of Pilgrim Congregational Church.

* * *

Campaign Falters

After more than two weeks of solicitation the campaign has reached only 66 per cent of its goal, with the subscriptions $92,515 behind those of the same period in last year's campaign. If the fund fails, say its sponsors, it will mean a sharp decline in the work of character building institutions, as well as in charity hospital work and direct relief in the city and county. With much confusion in the minds of people about the distinction between the community fund and government relief, the outlook for the United Charities drive is anything but hopeful.

* * *

Echoes of Munich on Armistice Day

Dr. Theodore C. Hume of Chicago preached the Armistice noonday sermon at Christ Church Cathedral. The mood and temper of his sermon were dark and dismal. He roundly condemned Chamberlain and Daladier for the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia, "the democracy of the descendants of John Huss," to the "ruthless nazi juggernaut." He said that this arrangement with Hitler marked the major collapse of international morality and the betrayal of civilization.

At the dinner for ministers which was held after the Armistice service, Dr. Hume presented a rather confusing position regarding what he thought church members and ministers could do to work for peace in a day like this. On the one hand he would have had England and France stand firm against Hitler, meeting force with force, involving the world in a war which he felt would include the United States; but on the other hand he declared himself as unwilling to have anything whatever to do with any war.

* * *

School Children Dismissed To See Motor Cavalry

More than 250,000 persons lined the streets to witness a 27-mile parade of the mechanized Seventh Cavalry Brigade when it passed through the city some days ago. School children were dismissed from classes in order that they might see the brigade, and traffic control was strained to the limit as the tanks and armored cars rumbled through the streets about two o'clock in the afternoon.

It was a grim spectacle to see tank after tank rattle over the pavement at terrific speed, shaking the ground as it went. One might well wonder what effect such a parade will have upon the minds of the thousands of small children who saw it. As I studied the older persons who were watching, I saw many whose expressions showed mingled feelings of grave seriousness and sober reflection.

* * *

Peace Council Polls War Sentiment

On the heels of this war demonstration the Peace Council of Greater St. Louis, a strong organization which is making an impact upon the thinking of the people of this community, was preparing its Armistice Day ballot to poll the city on war sentiment. Fifteen thousand ballots were distributed, and in 700 private homes groups of 12 women were expected to gather at 11 o'clock to hear a memorial broadcast in which Rev. Leo J. Steck, Rabbi Ferdinand Isserman and Bishop William Scarlett spoke on the meaning of Armistice Day. After this program the ballots were distributed to luncheon guests.

* * *

And So Forth

Two more changes in large churches were made recently. Dr. Henry Little resigned from the pulpit of Tyler Place Presbyterian Church to take a place on one of the boards of his denomination, and Dr. Dawson C. Bryan announced his departure from the downtown Centenary Methodist Church. Dr. Bryan's successor will be Rev. Charles M. Crowe, who comes from the Noel Memorial Church in Shreveport, La. Both these changes came as a surprise, since each minister has been only a relatively short time at the church which he is leaving.

A drive to enroll at least 1,500 new members will be made in the St. Louis district of the Southern Methodist Church, it was announced at a special reception in honor of Bishop William T. Watkins. More than 500 members of the boards of churches in this district enthusiastically endorsed this objective. Those who appeared on the program at the reception were Bishop John M. Moore of Dallas, Rev. Charles M. Crowe, new pastor at Centenary, and Rev. John B. Peters, new pastor at St. John's.

BEN MORRIS RIDPATH.

Japan Exults Over Victory

Thousands March to Celebrate Canton Triumph—Christian Councils Meet to Plan Union, Evangelization

(Correspondence from Japan)

TOKYO, Nov. 3.—The past week has been one continuous patriotic celebration. The sudden landing in south China and the occupation of Canton came as a complete surprise to the public whose attention had for weeks been fixed on the expected fall of Hankow. When that occurred the government gave the signal for victory celebrations. In Tokyo these take the form of mile upon mile of streaming lines of people marching four abreast, each with a lighted red-and-white paper lantern—all orderly, and for the most part silent. The regular course of the procession is from the palace to the army office, then to the Meiji shrine and the Yasukuni shrine. Both these shrines have had their annual festivals this past week, and in the latter the sixth enshrinement of the spirits of the dead since the beginning of the war recently took place, with about 10,000 listed. Yet with all this constant emphasis on victory and national destiny one sees and hears almost nothing of the frenzy of enthusiasm and the wild carousing we are accustomed to in our homelands.

* * *

The Premier Speaks

We have just been listening to Premier Konoe broadcasting his address to the nation, implementing the official statement given out by the government upon the capture of Hankow. He asserted that a new order has now begun in eastern Asia, with Japan as guarantor and custodian of the other nations' interests. Japan, Manchukuo and all of China are henceforth to be interwoven in one fabric of economic and cultural life. He thanked Italy and Germany for making this more readily possible by their sympathetic help, and held out thinly veiled threats for any who do not accept the realities of this new situation. Finally he made an appeal to the common people to support the government in the long struggle for unity in the East that lies ahead.

* * *

Steps toward Church Union

Church union came to a focus in an interesting session at which the representatives of the eight major denominations reported on the attitudes and actions of their respective bodies relative to the proposals brought before them during the past year by a commission set up in 1935. To one familiar with the scene in the sending countries it was clear that the particular traditions and even the emotional overtones of each denomination at home have been pretty completely transplanted in the corresponding churches here. So general church union seems still rather remote.

But one more attempt is to be made. Each denomination is now being asked to send its responsible representatives to make up a new commission charged with actually effecting some kind of union in the near future. Those denominations that comply will thus evince a genuine desire for union which should mean much for the future. If there is no general response the movement will probably subside for the present.

* * *

New Ambassador to U. S. Appointed

Many changes have been taking place in the foreign department. Former Foreign Minister H. Arita has been given the portfolio resigned by General Ugaki in protest against the weakening of that department. There are numerous shifts among the ambassadors. In the case of Mr. Horinouchi, who takes the place of Mr. Saito at Washington, everyone feels that as liberal and competent a man as there is in the foreign office is being chosen. He is very close to the Christian movement here, and should prove adequate to the delicate tasks that are before him.

* * *

Plan New Approach to Non-Christians

The National Christian Council has just held its annual meeting, preceded by a two-day triennial national Christian conference. Three major issues were before both meetings. The three-year continuation evangelistic campaign succeeding the Kingdom of God movement has come to an end with 150,000 people reached in 350 different centers. It was decided to renew the effort on a national scale for the coming three years, with special emphasis on a new approach to non-Christians in their occupational groupings. This step has been urged for some time by Dr. Kagawa.

* * *

Christians Torn By Conflict

The third issue before the conferences had to do with the church in the present crisis. A good deal was reported in the way of relief work both in China and at home, and more is being planned for the future. But one could not escape the feeling that the central reality of both conferences lay in the terrific tensions caused by the present conflict. There was a prevailing sense of the vast issues now being raised by the struggle on the wider stage not only for Japan but for the East and, indeed, for the entire world. The Christians are citizens, torn by conflicting emotions—emotions which now and again seemed ready to break out like one of our slumbering volcanoes. The balanced judgment of the leaders, however, controlled every action of the conferences. As its closing resolution the council sent a fraternal message of condolence and affection to the National Christian Council of China.

* * *

Kagawa at Group Retreat

The Kagawa Fellowship held a one-day retreat in Tokyo with over 100 present. Dr. Kagawa, though clearly showing the strains of the past year, was at his usual cheery, courageous best, with a challenging attitude of welcome for an increased missionary participation in the evangelization of the unreached people of Japan.

CHARLES IGLEHART.

TVA Foe Called To Explain Deal

Newspaper Owner to be Questioned on Bargain with Power Company—Ministers Speak Out on Lynching

(Correspondence from the New South)

NASHVILLE, Nov. 21.—The Tennessee public utilities commission has ordered the Tennessee Electric Power company to appear before it and show cause why it should not be prosecuted on 917 counts in violation of the state code governing the charging and collecting of service accounts with the Chattanooga *Free Press* and with the chain stores whose owner is also publisher of the *Free Press*. Each count is set forth in detail and exact amounts and dates are cited. In each case the chain store owner and newspaper publisher, it is charged, did not pay his bill, running around $400 per month, when it was due, but service was not discontinued as the law requires and as was done in all ordinary cases. Bills were paid as much as a year after the due date but without surcharge as with others.

* * *

'It Pays to Advertise'

The time at which payments began coincided with the passage of the Norris resolution providing for the congressional investigation of the TVA and of the public utilities with which the TVA has to deal. The *Free Press* was charged before the congressional committee with having been paid excessive rates for advertising by the utility, and the city TVA advocates charge that this was an underhanded method of subsidizing the paper which, they say, was established to defeat TVA power in Chattanooga. The *Free Press* has at least battled consistently for this end and has done all in its power to depress the circulation and income of the *News*, George Fort Milton's able and ardent advocate of the TVA. The fines made possible by law, if the power company is unable to explain its accounts with the store owner and publisher, can run up to $917,000.

* * *

City Determined to Have Municipal Plant

Chattanooga has a municipal power board that for about three years has been trying to purchase the local distributing system from the Commonwealth and Southern, holding concern for the Tennessee Electric Power company, but without success. Wendell Wilkie for C. & S. contends that the entire system must be purchased, but the city cannot do this and Mr. Wilkie and Mr. Lilienthal of the TVA cannot come to terms, because, TVA avers, Mr. Wilkie will not sell at actual material value. Meanwhile Chattanooga, as did Memphis and Knoxville, is going ahead with the building of a municipal system and to date has spent nearly $500,000, with another $1,500,000 ready to spend and more than $7,000,000 in loans and securities ready for either purchasing the utility or building a parallel system—which it intends to do if equitable terms of purchase cannot be made. It is safe to say that, as in Memphis and Knoxville, its firm resolution will re-

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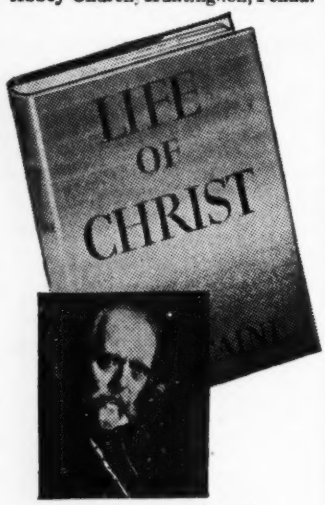

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sult in the purchase of the power company's local system.

* * *

Miraculous Increase

Meanwhile the question of the margin between actual investment and capitalization of the utility companies under the Commonwealth and Southern and in the TVA territory remains to be explored. It is charged that when three companies merged in 1926, $22,500,000 was added to capitalization, and that when a fourth came in $28,000,000 more was added. The president of the last company was asked by the federal trade commission, "Do you mean to say that between one night and morning you wrote up the valuation $28,000,000?" The reply was, "Yes." Asked if any additional money was put in the witness said, "No, not a dollar. We considered the property was worth that much more after the merger." Merger followed merger. The claim is made that out of a utility capitalization of twelve billion dollars not more than four billion represent real investment.

* * *

Whites Riot for Right to Lynch

A riot and a lynching of the most savage type have recently taken place—the riot in Georgia, the lynching in Louisiana. In the Georgia case a mob of 500 is reported to have kept up a reign of terror for two or three days. The homes of Negroes were stoned, a two-story colored school was burned down, innocent Negroes were assaulted and pelted with sticks and stones, and riotous conduct ceased only when state highway patrolmen appeared with tear gas. The riot was occasioned by the alleged murder of a white WPA worker by a Negro youth. The Negro, who had been drinking, came to the white home late at night and tried to collect a small loan he had made the worker. He claims he was struck with a club and the police report he has confessed killing the white man. When the white mob failed to get him for lynching it rioted.

* * *

Louisiana Disgraced

In Louisiana a mob of 1,000 is reported to have held police at bay with rifles while they shot and burned the culprit, a Negro youth who was accused of slaying a white woman and her escort. Indignation runs high in the community in this case because of the disgrace to it. The judge has instructed the grand jury to indict the lynchers, saying that "lynch law has never prevailed in this parish and it never will prevail here. Our courts and laws are ample to afford protection to our people under any and all conditions." The ministers have unanimously condemned the mob's action, saying, "Our community has suffered disgrace in the eyes of the civilized world." Of course there are protests. Some of the church members are threatening to quit the churches and a certain element in the town argue that it is not a crime to lynch a Negro criminal.

The notable thing in these two events is the protection of the criminal from mob action in one case and the quick moral action of the judge and ministers in the other. One of the deplorable phases of mob action in the past has all too often been the refusal of either to say anything once the mob had accomplished its purpose.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Dr. J. A. Ryan Lauds Justice Brandeis

Calling him "one of the two or three genuinely great Americans of our time," Dr. John A. Ryan, noted Catholic, paid tribute to Justice Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court as he unveiled a portrait of the jurist at Harvard University. In interpreting the Constitution, his decisions have been "in conformity with humanity, the common good and social justice."

New Lincoln Actor a Nephew of Bishop Vincent

Raymond Massey, who is portraying Lincoln so effectively in the play, "Lincoln in Illinois," is a nephew of the late Bishop John H. Vincent. Mr. Massey's interest in Lincoln is said to have begun when he was 13 years old, while on a visit at the home of the late Dr. John F. Goucher in Baltimore, where he heard Dr. Goucher's thrilling story of his meeting, as a boy, with the great emancipator.

Victoria University Honors Three Religious Leaders

At a special convocation of Victoria University, Toronto, D. D. degrees were conferred on William E. Gilroy, editor of *Advance,* Dugald Macfarlane, former moderator of the Church of Scotland, and Paul B. Kern, bishop of the Methodist Church, South. Bishop Kern addressed the convocation. Dr. Gilroy, a graduate of Victoria, was a fraternal delegate to the general council of the United Church of Canada, which was in session at the time.

Episcopalians Name Two New Bishops

At the recent meeting of the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church Rev. Alexander H. Blankenship, dean of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Havana, was elected as missionary bishop of Cuba to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Bishop Hulse last spring and Rev. Spence Burton, superior of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, was named as suffragan bishop of Haiti, assisting Bishop Carson.

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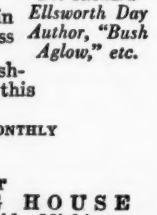

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Peace Hopes Still Live in England

But Hitler's Criticisms and Pogroms Cause Skepticism—League for Prayer and Service Gains Members

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Nov. 11.—Everyone was able to hear the prime minister at the Guildhall on Nov. 9. The welcome given him by the City of London was most hearty. There was nothing new in the defense Mr. Chamberlain made. In his references to Germany, which were conciliatory in tone, he took occasion to say that "history shows us that forms of government do not remain unchanged. Alterations, modifications, even reversals have taken place in every generation in some country or another, and there is no reason to suppose that even today any of us have reached the final and unalterable stage." At this point there was no applause and nothing to indicate anything more than careful attention. For the claims which Mr. Chamberlain made that peace had been saved by action, there was tumultuous applause.

* * *

Welcome News of King's Visit to U. S.

The news that the king and queen are to visit Washington has been received here with the utmost satisfaction. No responsible speaker or writer thinks of reducing the gains of such a visit to political measures. It is recognized as an expression of friendship and good will between two nations. Of this the king will be the spokesman on behalf of all our people.

* * *

Hitler Misunderstands Churchill

Before that time the prime minister and Lord Halifax are to visit Paris, where they will have more to discuss than Munich. The Führer in his speeches shows that he will not let the nations be too much at ease. His reiterated criticisms of Mr. Churchill are not easy to understand. He does not say things on the spur of the moment. There have been times in which Mr. Churchill might have been in the running for the premiership, but at the present moment that is extremely unlikely. In any case, however, it is a gross misunderstanding of his policy to think that he would plot for a new encirclement of Germany.

* * *

England Shocked by New Pogrom

When Herr von Rath was stabbed in Paris by a seventeen year old Polish Jew we trembled for the result. But it has been worse than our worst fears. At the very time in which the prime minister and others are seeking to restore something like a common understanding between nations with differing systems of government there has come this pogrom. Endeavors to avoid misunderstandings cannot be made by one side only.

* * *

Quaker Center to Be Opened In Shanghai

The Society of Friends is now able to proceed with plans for the establishment of a Quaker center of reconciliation and friendship in Shanghai through the willingness of Mr. Harry T. Silcock, at present secretary of the China Universities Committee in London, to go out to Shanghai for a year or more to undertake the start of the work there in cooperation with American Friends who have volunteered for this service.

Mr. Silcock is resigning from the China Universities Committee, the body which was created to promote cultural relations between this country and China and was endowed by the British and Chinese governments with a substantial sum from the Boxer indemnity payments. He was formerly secretary of the Friends Service Council and of the Friends Foreign Mission Association. Mr. Silcock went out to China in 1908, and until 1920 he was associated with the West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechwan. He expects to sail for China in January.

* * *

League of Prayer and Service Focused in Westminster

Today, Armistice Day, at six o'clock the Dean of Westminster is to take over the League of Prayer and Service at the Unknown Warrior's tomb. This is to be what is described as the focus of the league. After the dean has officially taken over the league, the leaders of the free churches and a representative from Scotland will affirm their support of it and the hope that the people of their churches will do so as well. At 12 noon each day the members of the league are asked to offer their prayer, wherever they may be. It is hoped that the churches will ring the bell for half a minute before the hour. The sanctus bell at St. Martin's already is so used. There were 750,000 enrolled in the league through the appeals made by Mr. Elliott; its enlargement to make it a League of Prayer and Service has brought many new members.

* * *

And So Forth

I see that Mr. Evan Roberts has been breaking his long silence. He was the leader of the Welsh revival of 34 years ago. His health broke down after two years' service and he has been almost entirely silent for years. Now he criticizes very severely the preaching of today, in which a "false Christ is preached," and "old wives' fables take the place of the oracles of God." It would be easier to judge whether or not this is just if we knew the meaning of the charge and the evidence for it.

There is a campaign proposed by church leaders and members of Parliament which for lack of a better term has been described as a crusade for moral rearmament.

At the opening of the Book Fair Mrs. Neville Chamberlain declared that she had thought of writing a history of No. 10 Downing Street. In this, she said, she would not forget the black cat which lives there now, for which in celebration of Munich some thoughtful person sent two Dover soles.

It will be curious for my readers to learn that Parliament was prorogued last week and another session begins today. It is only a formal break, but it is accompanied by all the traditional ceremony; the king went this morning to open the new session of Parliament.

Not by any enforcement from above, but

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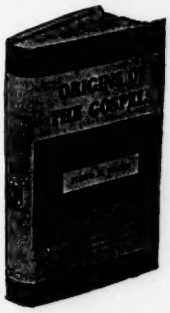

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out of a general desire for international order, we have been told to stop lecturing other nations. The counselor was Mr. Bruce Lockhart at a luncheon in Manchester. Mr. Lockhart is best known for his book, *Guns or Butter.*

EDWARD SHILLITO.

E. Stanley Jones to Address Farewell Meeting in Philadelphia

Dr. E. Stanley Jones will speak at a city-wide Protestant mass meeting representing over 1,000 churches in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Dec. 1. His theme will be "Christ's Message for Today." This will be Dr. Jones' final appearance in this country before his return to missionary service in India.

Methodists Observe Church Extension Anniversary

On Nov. 17, at Arch Street Methodist Church, Philadelphia, the 75th anniversary of church extension work in Methodism was observed during the annual meeting of the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension.

Temple of Religion for New York Fair

A campaign has just been opened to obtain funds for the erection of a Temple of Religion at the New York World's Fair. John D. Rockefeller made the first contribution, $25,000.

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Republicans Win In New England

Race Track Opponents Also Make Gains —Parsonages Exempted from Taxes —New Congregational Techniques

(Correspondence from New England)

BOSTON, Nov. 16.—Not since 1928 have Republicans made so clean a sweep of our states, electing 6 governors, 3 United States senators and 22 of our representatives in the House. Many will regret the failure of Gov. Wilbur L. Cross, scholar in politics, to secure a fifth term in Connecticut, due largely to the surprising vote of 165,000 for the Socialist candidate, Jaspar McLevy. Governor Cross' honest and businesslike administration as mayor of Bridgeport, contrasted with scandals elsewhere which tainted both major parties, won for him support outside of his party. The election in Rhode Island, over Governor Quinn, of a son of a noted family, William H. Vanderbilt, surprised the politicians. Similarly in Massachusetts, the defeat of that able but typical politician, James M. Curley—emphasized by the success of other Democrats, James M. Dowd as sheriff of Suffolk county and Paul A. Dever as attorney general—by Leverett Saltonstall, whose ancestor, Sir Richard, came with Governor Winthrop on the "Arabella" in 1630, is significant. Mr. Saltonstall's recognition of his election as "the victory of a legion of voters, Republican, Democratic and independent," and his words, "I pray for divine guidance," have made a favorable impression.

* * *

Anti-Gambling Forces Win Partial Victory

The attempt to secure a state-wide vote on the issue of betting upon dog and horse races failed because the legislature submitted it by counties. Worcester and the four western counties rejected it, and the tracks in Hampden county must go. But Bristol, Essex and Suffolk clung to their idols, and Suffolk Downs will continue to demoralize the commonwealth. Opponents of gambling are encouraged by this partial victory to press the fight for complete elimination. The vote on liquor licenses cannot be known until compiled by the secretary of state, Frederick W. Cook, whose skill and impartiality have won him repeated re-election despite political upheavals since 1920. There seems to have been an increased no-vote.

* * *

Attempts to Bring in Communism

The option of different forms of city charter, given by the legislature, awakened wide interest. New Bedford displaced an antiquated system by adopting "Plan B," though it was denounced as "dangerously radical." Opponents of "Plan E," combining a city manager and proportional representation, praised "B" as wise conservatism, and defeated the former by large majorities in Northampton and Quincy and by 1,200 in Cambridge, where a recount will be asked. The charge that Harvard, by this proposal, was trying to introduce communism, and the threat that the university

might be set off as a separate municipality, led to amusing stunts and demonstrations by the students. A private letter says that "welfare recipients were ordered, and schoolteachers influenced, to vote no." Dean J. M. Landis says, "No supporter of the plan can fail to be heartened." The National Municipal League, having added Yonkers, which twice rejected the proposal, to 480 cities with managers, predicts that our three cities will eventually vote in favor. Massachusetts joined the 42 states with biennial sessions of the legislature, despite the disapproval of the civic league; and, except in a few municipalities, it rejected the ban on employment of married women.

* * *

New Horizons for The Church

The state council of churches met in Brockton, Nov. 14-15, with increased attendance and enthusiasm and "the world outlook." Dr. Ralph W. Sockman of New York, from "the center where and when we are" looked at four points where meet, like earth and sky at the horizon, authority and liberty, morality and new situations, propaganda to preserve "movements" and prophecy which treasures the personality of man and God, and high power vs. power from on high. Rev. Thomas Roy of Worcester said that the outlook on the surface today seems dark, but he recalled that, in 1809, Napoleon at the height of his power dominated Europe and humbled the pope; yet in that year were born Darwin, Livingstone and Lincoln. Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, of the Federal Council, showed that the merging of the conferences on Missions, Life and Work, and Faith and Order, in the Universal Christian Council, gives new significance to our local cooperation, and paid tribute to the Massachusetts council for steadily recognizing the ecumenical significance of its practical efforts.

* * *

The Melting Pot In Boston

American nationality still proves that it rests not upon race but upon the worth and rights of all men. On Nov. 4, 2,500 of all races gathered at the annual ball of the International Institute in Boston, with varied songs and dances, costumes and menus. Egyptian and Englishman, Pole and Russian, Czechoslovakian and German met in smiling harmony.

* * *

Tax Exemption for Parsonages

A pastor's wife, Mrs. Charles B. McDuffee of the Cliftondale Congregational Church, Saugus, Mass., is credited with suggesting a piece of legislation, unusual in these days of secularism, which has just been passed. On Oct. 21 the town's representative in the general court, Fred Willis, presented to the church a copy of the act exempting from taxation parsonages used as such and valued up to $5,000, and the quill with which the act was signed. Mrs. McDuffee points out that churches without a rectory can now afford to build one at a cost less than continued rental of their pastor's home. Such a step might not be possible in western states, but New England tradition regards the church as a community institution which has also the obligation of community service, a service still possible in new ways consistent with interdenominational comity and the separation of church and state.

* * *

Congregationalists Try New Techniques

Denominations which rest upon the autonomy of every local congregation are finding it necessary to add, "You can act as you please if you will only act *right.*" How is right to be determined? Not by authority but by facing the facts "with all the saints." So associational conferences of deacons are increasingly held to discuss the importance, duties and possibilities of that office of lay leaders. It was a privilege to have a glimpse of a new method suggested by young pastors in Connecticut to Dr. William F. Frazier, executive vice-president of the Board of Home Missions. "Give us a day," they asked; and they took him to visit typical churches and hear their pastors interpret their problems. Yesterday a score of Massachusetts pastors examined the physical plants and faced the varied tasks of churches in a city with an ebbing Protestant population, in a prosperous suburb or in a textile town still suffering from the depression. The Book of Proverbs expressed the theory of democracy in church or state: "In a multitude of counselors is safety."

E. Tallmadge Root.

English Economist Demands Christian Statesmanship

In an address delivered in America, Sir George Paich, noted British economist and churchman, declared that "all the great na-

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11.32	15.47	8.04	4.10	25	13.47	17.62	9.16	4.67
11.58	15.90	8.27	4.21	26	13.78	18.10	9.41	4.80
11.86	16.36	8.51	4.34	27	14.13	18.63	9.69	4.94
12.15	16.84	8.76	4.46	28	14.48	19.17	9.97	5.08
12.45	17.35	9.02	4.60	29	14.85	19.75	10.27	5.23
12.78	17.89	9.30	4.74	30	15.24	20.35	10.58	5.39
13.13	18.46	9.60	4.89	31	15.66	20.99	10.91	5.56
13.50	19.07	9.92	5.05	32	16.11	21.68	11.27	5.75
13.89	19.71	10.25	5.22	33	16.59	22.41	11.65	5.94
14.31	20.39	10.60	5.40	34	17.09	23.17	12.05	6.14
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15.72	22.69	11.80	6.01	37	18.78	25.75	13.39	6.82
16.25	23.55	12.25	6.24	38	19.43	26.73	13.90	7.08
16.81	24.46	12.72	6.48	39	20.11	27.76	14.44	7.36
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20.91	31.54	16.40	8.36	45	25.04	35.67	18.55	9.45
21.73	33.03	17.18	8.75	46	26.03	37.33	19.41	9.89
22.59	34.63	18.01	9.18	47	27.06	39.10	20.33	10.36
23.51	36.31	18.88	9.62	48	28.18	40.98	21.31	10.86
24.47	38.09	19.81	10.09	49	29.34	42.96	22.34	11.38
25.48	39.99	20.79	10.60	50	30.55	45.06	23.43	11.94
26.54	42.00	21.84	11.13	51	31.84	47.30	24.60	12.53
27.66	44.14	22.95	11.70	52	33.20	49.68	25.83	13.17
28.83	46.41	24.13	12.30	53	34.62	52.20	27.14	13.83
30.07	48.82	25.39	12.94	54	36.13	54.88	28.54	14.54
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Widow of Bishop McIntyre Dies in Los Angeles

Ella C. McIntyre, widow of Bishop Robert McIntyre, recently died at her home in Los Angeles. Mrs. McIntyre, who had lived in California since the death of her husband in 1914, was 80 years of age.

Foreign Wars Veterans Hit Mob Violence

Assembled in its annual meeting at Lansing, Mich., the national council of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States condemned the use of force or violence in combating communist, nazi or fascist demonstrations as a flagrant violation of Americanism. A policy threatening court martial proceedings was adopted against any member involving the name, insignia or uniform of the organization in any intolerant demonstration.

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Call Schools Hope of Democracy

Florida Speakers Ask Church to Take Lead—Opposition to Methodist Union Wanes—Ministerial Changes

(Correspondence from the Southeast)

TAMPA, Nov. 19.—Democracy is finding a voice and an aroused public conscience in Tampa. Recently 2,000 schoolteachers of the Florida West Coast Teachers Association heard Dr. Ernest Cadman Colwell, acting dean of the divinity school of the University of Chicago, declare that the school and the teacher held the key to the difficult problem of revitalizing and strengthening American democracy. He said: "America's schools represent her greatest hope for preserving her democracy. The task of the teacher is to bear witness to the truth, and only in a democracy will the truth prevail." He struck out at totalitarian ideology with its super-state and enslaved human spirits and declared that in Germany today no teacher could be anything more than a "phonograph record."

* * *

Dictatorship Easy

Mr. Doyle E. Carlton, governor of Florida 1928-32, speaking to the congregation of the First Baptist Church, Tampa, Nov. 13, called for a new leadership on the part of the churches for a restoration of vital democratic spirit in the United States, pointing out that Christianity and democracy stand or fall together. The former state chief executive said: "Democracy, with its fine checks and balances of power and its popular ballot, represents the highest attainment in human government after ages of struggle against human tyranny in many forms. It is delicate and fine, and its origin and growth rest in religious principles and the Christian view of man. Dictatorships are easy forms of government. They are systems that demand nothing of the individual but cowardly silence and obedience."

* * *

Protest Nazi Pogroms

Steps have been taken in Tampa churches to aid Jewish refugees suffering nazi persecution and communications have been sent from leading denominational groups to the state department encouraging American aid to stricken German Jews. The Georgia Baptist Convention, meeting in Atlanta this week, passed a strong resolution asking the state department to protest further the outrageous treatment of German Jewish minorities and to urge the United States government to open the doors to all stricken refugees who could come to America. The resolution was presented by Dr. Ryland Knight, Atlanta.

* * *

Conversions Caused by War with Mars

There is a story on the campus of Emory University, Atlanta, to the effect that while the now famous radio broadcast, "The War of the Worlds," was goose-pimpling many

thousands of panic-stricken Americans, an enterprising and fervent theological student of that Methodist institution converted six students who had become suddenly anxious about the welfare of their souls. Another story from the same campus concerns a co-ed who turned with disgust from the radio after hearing the words, "This is a newscast about men from Mars invading the world," saying, "Darn! It's only a news broadcast and I thought they were going to give a play at this time."

* * *

Georgia Methodists Report Progress

Georgia Methodists recently honored the dead of their clergy. Eleven deaths occurred in the Georgia Methodist Conference during the past year and a special memorial service for the faithful ministers who had passed on was a part of the conference program in Atlanta. Rev. M. L. Underwood was the oldest and had given 61 years to the ministry. Most of the other pastors were still active at the time of death.

Methodists reported progress in Georgia, with membership and financial gains in all districts of the conference. The layman's organization, so called, to resist the process of Methodist unification appears to be losing ground against the overwhelming sentiment for unification.

* * *

Spanish War Not Religious, Says Ambassador

Dr. Fernando de los Rios, Spanish ambassador to the United States, on a recent visit to Tampa, spoke to a group of Protestant pastors and to several mass meetings of Latin citizens. He declared that Spanish loyalists could win the war and reestablish a just and peaceful republican state if the invading German and Italian forces would withdraw. He denied there was any religious issue in the war in Spain. "The Spanish loyalist government, which is a democracy, stands for religious liberty," the ambassador said. He gave a graphic picture of the tragic destruction of life and property in his homeland and praised the 45,000 Cubans and Spaniards living in Tampa for their gifts of medical and hospital supplies to the Spanish government forces.

* * *

And So Forth

Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Chicago, delivered the student lectures on religion at Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga., recently. The subject of the lectures was, "Four Hundred Years of the English Bible." He exhibited several rare Bibles belonging to his private collection and to the divinity school of the University of Chicago.

Dr. D. P. McGeachy, whose social vision and broad interests have made him a liberal influence in the southeast, recently completed 20 years as pastor of the historic Decatur Presbyterian Church, Atlanta area. The church, mother of Agnes Scott College and church home of Columbia Presbyterian Theological Seminary professors and students, tendered Dr. and Mrs. McGeachy and their two sons in the ministry an anniversary reception.

Within a few days the neighboring First Baptist Church, Decatur, held a reception for Dr. and Mrs. Adiel Jarrett Moncrief, on the 14th anniversary of Dr. Moncrief's pastorate of that church. Atlanta and De-

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catur papers and civic leaders felicitated both ministers.

The recent death of Dr. William Henry Major, 25 years pastor of Capitol Avenue Baptist Church, Atlanta, removed from that city one of its most beloved pastors. He had been an active influence in social and civic movements, a past president of the Christian Council of Churches and a leader in the Baptist denomination.

ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

Notre Dame Awards Medal to Noted Physician

Dr. Irvin Abell of Louisville, president of the American Medical Association, was recently presented with the Laetare medal of Notre Dame, awarded annually to an outstanding Catholic layman.

Religion Among Tokyo Students

The Imperial University of Tokyo recently circulated a religious questionnaire among its students which revealed that of the 5,000 students 300 were Buddhists, 60 Christians, 8 Shintoists, 6 Confucians, 1,500 atheists and 3,000 agnostics.

Jamaica Baptists Celebrate Liberation of Slaves

The Baptists of Jamaica are this year celebrating the centennial of the liberation of slaves in Jamaica in 1838 and recalling the leading part played by Baptists in that important event.

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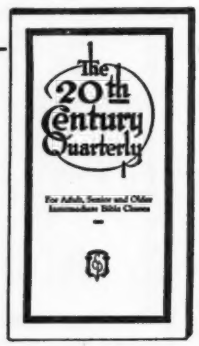

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The 20th Century Quarterly

440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate Service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Listen, Darling

(Bartholomew, Garland, Pidgeon) (MG M) Simple, engaging, human, sufficiently probable little comedy about two twelve-year-olds earnestly trying to keep their adored widowed mother from marrying wrong man. Bumpy trailers, Judy's songs, Freddie's forensics and understanding grown-ups are story ingredients.

For A: Pleasing. For Y: Good. For C: If it interests.

Little Tough Guys in Society

(Boland, Horton, Auer) (Univ) Fake psychiatrist induces wealthy widow to import six young ruffians to her country estate to give indolent, spoiled son an interest in life. Rowdies smash everything, effect cure and are finally reformed themselves! Rather burlesque treatment of social problem.

For A: Amusing of kind. For Y: Amusing. For C: Doubtful.

Mars Attacks the World

(Larry Crabble, Jean Rogers) (Univ) The fantastically absurd "Flash Gordon" newspaper strip-thriller, made more vividly preposterous by motion and trick photography, tries to cash in on recent radio scare. Wooden acting, clumsy dialogue meaningless mechanics, absurd "science."

For A: Stupid. For Y, and C: Very doubtful value.

Men with Wings

(MacMurray, Milland, L. Campbell) (Para) Absorbing chronicle of development of aviation, stirring in action, beautifully photographed in technicolor. Held together with episodic but interesting, human story of three childhood playmates. Sweep of film belongs to planes themselves as chief actors.

For A: Notable. For Y: Very good. For C: Exciting.

Mysterious Mr. Moto

(Lorre, Wilcoxon, Mary McGuire) (Fox) Grim, crime thriller with the usually sinister Lorre as smiling, suave-spoken detective running down the arch-villainous head of the League of Assassins. Devil's Island and London's Limehouse are the locales for perilous situations and impossible heroics.

For A: Hardly. For Y: No. For C: No.

Storm over Bengal

(P. Knowles, R. Cromwell, R. Hudson) (Repub) Just another thriller of English army life among mountain tribes in India. As regiment fights bloodthirsty fanatic's rebel troops, two brothers are rivals for heroine's hand. Heroic death of one gives girl to other and victory to England.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Little value. For C: No.

Submarine Patrol

(Richard Greene, Nancy Kelly, Preston Foster) (Fox) Glorifying supposed "navy life" on wooden sub-chaser in World War. Painfully smart-aleck hero, one of motley crew of freakish characters, is cured by grim, thrilling experience fighting submarines. Too much frantic "comedy" and bawled dialogue.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Doubtful value.

Vacation from Love

(Dennis O'Keefe, Florence Rice) (MGM) Hilarious, crazy comedy, with beautiful settings, of madcap saxophonist snatching bride from socialite wedding on promise of "marriage and fun." He, absorbed in radio business, forgets anniversaries and she misjudges his past. Narrow escape from divorce after wild slapstick adventures.

For A: Prob. enjoyable. For Y: Amusing. For C: Little interest.

Best Recent Family Films:

Girls' School — That Certain Age
Arkansas Traveler — Swing that Cheer
Boy's Town — Dark Rapture

Best Recent Films for Adults:

Drums — The Citadel
If I Were King — The Great Waltz
Suez — Young Doctor Kildare

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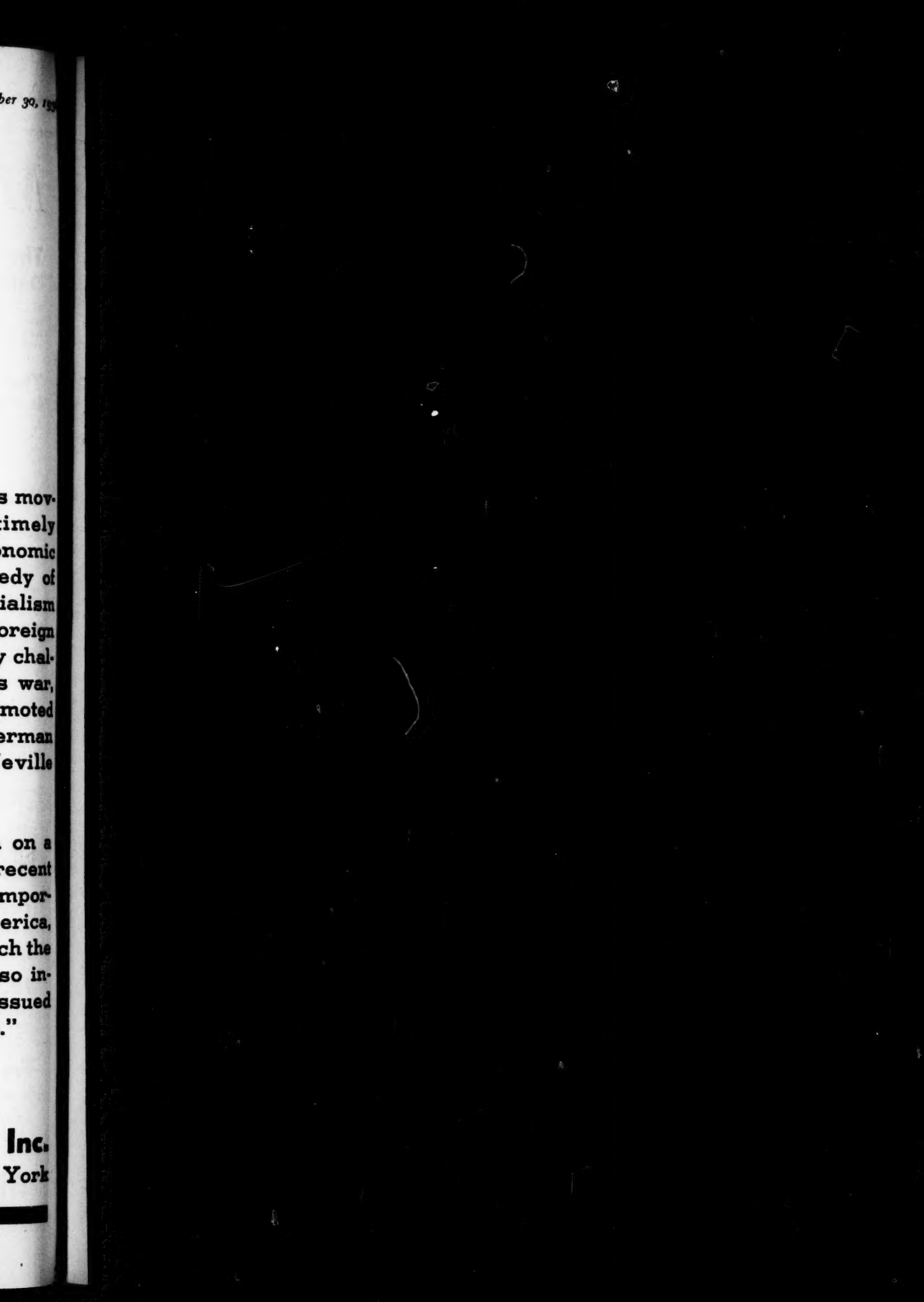
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